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overview: Prefer Municipality ev

**Overview: Most of their evidence is irrelevant to my case. Neumark and Adams 03** in the AC clarify my advocacy - I advocate a living wage enforced by municipalities and affecting only employers in contract with the city or receiving business assistance.

Go to my **2nd contention, subpoint B**. Extend **Neumark & Adams 2** – they argue that full-coverage wage floors and living wages require independent study. The results are not transferrable. This is intuitively obvious since my opponent’s evidence analyzes a wage floor covering 99 times as many workers as my advocacy[[1]](#footnote-1).

Also extend **Maloney 13 –** argues that the affects of living wages is the opposite of what’s been seen in the minimum wage. Turns all their evidence – qualified economist says the policies have inverse effects.

1. This takes out *[this evidence. Confirmed in CX]*

2. Reject all evidence they don’t have full methodology for/full article available.

Oberview: Empirics > Analytics

**Overview: Prefer empirics to analytics** on economic issues, especially related to labor.

1. Economics is a social science. Analytical reasoning only produces predictive hypotheses to be validated by data. Empirical data invalidates analytical warrants.
2. Empirics represents net effect. The economy is a complex system so all economic policies have multiple bidirectional impacts. Analytical reasoning is not sufficiently quantitative to weight and net these multiple forces.
3. Living wage specifically requires empirical evaluation. We can only understand net employment and poverty effects by knowing the underlying labor elasticity of demand, which is implicit in labor data but indeterminable through pure reason. **Holzer 08**[[2]](#footnote-2) **explains**:

But, since this floor will generally cover only a small number of firms in the labor market, any surplus of workers in the covered sector might well shift to the uncovered sectors of the economy – perhaps gaining employment there by driving down wages in the latter.6 **This implies that the wage gains of some workers might be offset by wage losses among others, though initial employment losses might be offset as well –** making it harder to detect impacts on labor market outcomes either way. But, if market rigidities (such as minimum wage laws) make it difficult for the uncovered sectors to absorb the surplus workers, the positive effects on wages and negative effects on employment levels for the covered workers are more likely to be observed in the market overall. **The magnitude of these effects** (for any given level of mandated wages and coverage) **will** also **be determined primarily by the “elasticity of labor demand**” in the covered sector, **which measures the degree to which employer** demand for (or **hiring** **of**) **workers responds to market wages**. The more elastic (or flatter) this curve, the greater the responsiveness of employers to wages and the greater the potential negative effect of higher mandated wages on employment levels.

Overview: DA Link framing

Their link is extremely small because of the limited cover of the living wage – terminal defense on the DA

It’s only 2% of the lowest paid workers. Clain[[3]](#footnote-3)

This type of concern stems from basic principles of supply and demand, and the discussion of it in this context mirrors discussions of the impacts of minimum wage laws. However, living wage legislation is generally not the same as minimum wage legislation. A key difference between the two lies in the coverage of the legislation: Living wage legislation generally applies to a limited number of employers whereas minimum wage legislation applies much more broadly.1 Estimates of the numbers of workers covered by living wage legislation are quite modest, around 1 to at most 2% of workers in the lowest quartile of the wage distribution (Neumark and Adams 2003b).

And it isn’t even part of the workforce that your DA involves Maloney[[4]](#footnote-4)

In the United States, living wage employers are predominantly businesses with municipal or state government contracts or businesses that receive some form of support from municipal or state government. Contractors are likely to work in areas such as cleaning, waste management, janitorial services and landscape maintenance. Businesses receiving support may include real estate developers that receive public subsidies (and their subcontractors).

AT - Unemployment

1. No uniqueness – Fletcher 13 shows that the unemployment rate is dropping down but poverty and income inequality continue to rise. Only solution is higher wages.
2. Cross-apply Lester & Jacobs 1 – study examines living wages and finds no employment effect. Prefer for several reasons:
   1. Controls for enforcement and unobservable variables - Extend Lester & Jacobs 2 and the weighing under it – past research is flawed for not accounting for urban impacts or degree of enforcement. **Lester & Jacobs 3 further:**

The study is the most methodologically sound, quantitative study conducted to date on business assistance wage standards. It uses the best available data that tracks employment by establishment and establishment movements over time in order to make accurate accounts of employment change at the city level. The study carefully selects cities that have effectively implemented business assistance living wage laws and ensures a controlled comparison that minimizes the effects of unobservable variables by comparing 15 living wage cities to 16 cities with similar attributes where advocates lodged unsuccessful campaigns to pass such ordinances.

This explains discrepancies in study results because your sample is contaminated with poorly enforced cities and unobservable variables

* 1. Sample size & robustness – 20 years of data accounts for macroeconomic variables like recessions and expansions. Study is also robustness-tested, means not skewed by outliers. **Lester & Jacobs 4**[[5]](#footnote-5) explain:

The study examines how living wage standards affect 14 distinct employment variables: total citywide; broad low-wage services; narrow low-wage services; retail; restaurants; hotels; manufacturing; nondurable manufacturing; back-office; wholesale; big-box retail; finance insurance and real estate; headquarters; and branch plants. Together these provide a comprehensive examination of the potential combined direct, direct spillover, and indirect effects that business assistance living wage laws can have on local employment. Figure 1 presents these 14 variables as the possible range of employment change expected after passage, allowing up to two years for lagged effects. None of the 14 outcome variables show a statistically significant negative consequence of passing a business assistance living wage standard. Statistically significant outcomes would mean that we are 90 percent confident that the estimate is different from zero. But this is not the case for any of the variables, which means we can conclude that there is no employment effect. (More detailed results are presented in the technical appendix.)41 Our estimates indicate that passage of a business assistance living wage law has no measurable effect on citywide employment. Employment levels are unaffected in low-wage industries as is employment in industries likely to be targets of economic development subsidies and in firms that are sensitive to the perceived business climate of a city. This suggests that business assistance living wage laws are unlikely to have direct, direct spillover, or indirect effects on employment levels. These findings discredit the primary arguments used by opponents of business assistance living wage laws that these laws are harmful to employment in direct and indirect ways. It is important to note that the results are based on nearly 20 years of data—a timeframe that contained years of recessions and expansions—which suggests that business assistance living wage laws are unlikely to have an effect on employment levels even during hard economic times. These results are also quite robust. For example, the inclusion or exclusion of any particular city from the treatment group has no meaningful effect on the results. Figure 1 visually represents the 90 percent confidence interval of our point estimates. Any number line in Figure 1 that includes zero in the shaded area indicates that the estimated effect is not different than zero. This means that there is no estimated employment effect, which is the case for all the variables tested. The estimated impact of employment in low-wage industries—the sectors where we can expect the living wage to have the largest bite—bears some additional discussion. Our estimates for the five low-wage sectors we measure are all nearly zero, or slightly positive. These results strongly contrast with the findings of Adams and Neumark, who find significant negative employment effects for low-wage workers overall. For retail and restaurants our estimates are precise enough to reject the point estimates of their study.42

1. Your research is based on a flawed economic model – **Keddy**[[6]](#footnote-6) explains:

Opponents also argue that while living wage policies do increase the wages of some, it actually reduces employment opportunities for workers in the lowest skilled and lowest income group. There are a few main arguments used to support this assertion. First, basic economic theory states that as wages rise, demand is reduced resulting in fewer available jobs in general. However, this economic theory is based on a model where all other factors remain equal. This rarely occurs in reality. Economic growth consistently changes the dynamic of supply and demand. As the economy expands, demand increases which can often offset the increased labor costs associated with living wages (Pollin, 2008). Living wages themselves will change the dynamic as well by providing greater spending power to more people thus increasing demand (Pollin, 2008).

This discrepancy between model and reality is empricially verified. **Lester**[[7]](#footnote-7) **??:**

A critical aspect in the public debate over business assistance living wage laws is the degree to which they will actually impact the local economy. On the one hand, many living wage proponents argue that business assistance clauses will not cause significant job losses. This argument is supported by research that indicates that higher minimum and living wages lead to efficiency gains for firms through reduced turnover (see Dube, Lester, Reich 2010a). In addition, increasing wages for the lowest paid workers also has a simulative effect for local economies, as low-income households typically spend more of their dollars locally. In addition to the potential positive, or offsetting, impacts of living wage laws, some researchers suggest that given their narrow scope business assistance living wage laws typically impact only a small number of firms that receive direct subsidies, and only a fraction of these firms employ workers below the mandated wage. In this view, business assistance laws function as a lower bound that serves to prevent localities from subsidizing low wage jobs, but they don’t themselves represent a drastic reshaping of existing local labor practices.

Also extend & cross apply **Thompson & Chapman 06** which further warrants this decrease in turnover, increase in productivity, and eventual increase in firm profits, allowing them to absorb higher labor cots.

1. *Prefer to Neumark & Adams*
   1. Neumark & Adams don’t control their sample for enforcement. **Lester & Jacobs 5[[8]](#footnote-8):**

A key difference between our study and that of Adams and Neumark is our sample choice.32 We conduct a systematic qualitative assessment of the set of U.S. cities that have passed business assistance living wage laws to narrow down the treatment group to exclude where the living wage has not been enforced or thresholds are too high to have an effect.

* 1. Turn – Neumark & Adams conclude that the employment effect is outweighed by wage gains, resulting in a net reduction in poverty. **Swarts & Vasi 2010[[9]](#footnote-9):**

Robert Kuttner, of the American Prospect magazine has stated impressively that “living wage campaigns are the most interesting (and under-reported) grassroots enterprise to emerge since the civil rights movement” (Kuttner 1997). Since Kuttner’s remark, a large literature has developed on the living wage movement. It includes contributions by advocates from economics and labor studies, (Janis-Aparicio et. al. 1996, Fine 1998, Pollin and Luce 1998, Luce and Pollan 1999, Luce 2001, Nissen 2000, Levi, Olson, and Steinman 2002-3). Scholars have examined the living wage as a strategy for labor revitalization (Levi, Olson, and Steinman 2002-3), studied its diffusion (Martin 2001, 2006), and examined its intended and unintended consequences, (Pollin, Brenner, and Luce 2002, Buss and Romeo 2006). David **Neumark and** Scott **Adams** **are the most prominent** economist **critics of living wage ordinances, arguing [in 2004] that “the central goal of living wages is to reduce poverty, yet they may fail to do so because of disemployment effects”** (2004). **However, their 2005 article “confirms earlier findings that business-assistance living wage laws boost wages of the lowest wage workers at the cost of some disemployment, ultimately reducing net urban poverty**.”

* 1. Extend and cross-apply **CRA 11 –** Neumark and 4 other leading economists author the report. They conclude that living wages net reduce poverty by 2-4%. Prefer because its newer research based on updated data and because it’s supported by consensus of 5 leading scholars.

AT – Benefits/Cost Args

1. Their ev relies on flawed assumptions – living wage is very cheap. **Devinatz 13**:[[10]](#footnote-10)

This estimate is consistent with calculating the actual costs of putting living wage statutes into effect. Although the specifics of living wage ordinances vary as discussed above, economic analyses indicate that no matter what statistical sources and research methodologies are utilized, the average cost to most companies affected by living wage statutes is low, ranging somewhere between 1 % and 2 % of an average company’s total operations. Given this figure, most firms would be easily able to absorb these modest cost increases through small boosts in both prices and productivity (Pollin 2005). Of course, if such ordinances required dramatically higher living wages, the costs to firms could be substantially higher than the above estimates.

1. Turn – turnover highjacks your link – employees staying with firms longer incentivizes more training and benefits to make sure that the job remains attractive. If people are constantly leaving there is no reason to create a good workplace.
2. AC studies take this into account and still find net reduction in poverty. Prefer because
   1. Scope of study – my research takes into account your argument and statistically compares it to the other dynamics. Prefer this econometric comparison to debate weighing which is less quantitative.
   2. Prefer on credentials – Lester & Jacobs, Cain, CRA 11, and Maloney 14 all support my conclusion. Multiple authors is like multiplying the probability of validity – a 5 times replicated study is exponentially more credible than a singular study.

AT – Capital Flight

1. Living wage employees are immobile – they can’t just leave the ordinance post living wage. **Keddy[[11]](#footnote-11) 15:**

The threat of businesses relocating to other jurisdictions that do not have living wage policies has also proven to be hollow. Many of the services contracted to the city are relatively immobile (Swarts & Vasi, 2011). Services such as city-owned parking lots, airports and convention centres cannot simply move because of regulations that the city decides to implement. For those companies, the decision becomes whether to absorb those additional labour costs or pass them on to the city but relocating is simply not an option due to physical and geographic constraints.

1. No link – capital flight is only possible when there are discrepancies between municipalities, but I fiat that all cities implement a living wage so no risk of flight.

AT – Slows Growth

1. Empirically denied – extend and cross-apply **Lester & Jacobs 1** – one of the variables they study is living wage effect on business climate. **Lester & Jacobs continue:**[[12]](#footnote-12)

As indicated in Table 3, none of the thirteen outcome variables show a negative and statistically significant long term impact of passing a business assistance living wage in either a direct or indirect sense. For total private sector employment—the most fundamental outcome for local policy makers—the estimated long term effect is -1.6%. However, this effect is not statistically different from zero. Based on the range of possible effects, we can rule out any negative impact greater than 4.5 percent. It is also important to note that, by this same logic, this estimate cannot rule out a positive impact of less than 1.3 percent. For the category of industry sectors that are titled “direct-low wage sectors” this analysis finds that none of the measured impacts are significantly negative. To recall, this group of industries includes low-wage service sectors that are most likely to be affected by a business assistance living wage ordinance, in that they typically employ large numbers of low-wage workers. In addition, these sectors are often part of urban redevelopment projects. These low-wage service sector industries are also the most likely to be impacted through a potential spillover impact on the low-wage labor market. However, we can strongly rule out such direct impacts as the estimates are very close to zero, and can rule out impacts greater than -3.8 percent for retail, and -3.6 and -3.3 percent for the broad and narrowly defined groupings of low-wage service industries. For restaurants, the largest 26 employer of minimum wage workers of any industry, the long term impact is slightly positive. As a result, we can rule out a negative impact of more than -2.4 percent. While not directly comparable due to differences in data sources, this measured impact is much lower than the estimates reported for low-wage workers in previous studies, such as Adams and Neumark (2005). While the estimates for hotels are positive and insignificant—suggesting little or no direct impact—the ranges are large, leading to a large bound of estimated impacts. However, since these ranges are centered around zero, from a statistical point of view, a large positive effect is just as likely as a strong negative effect. Therefore, one cannot conclude that living wage laws actually harm growth in these sectors. For the industries that are often targets of business attraction activities, the results are similar to those for direct low-wage services. For non-durable manufacturing, the long term point estimate is very close to zero, but given the larger ranges, one cannot rule out larger negative impacts. However, such potentially large effects are really a function of the statistical reality of the small sample size, rather than a real measured effect. Since the results are approximately centered on zero, or near zero, it is reasonable to conclude that business assistance laws likely have no meaningful impact on employment in industries that are often targets of economic development. This finding casts doubt on the idea that attaching labor standards to economic development incentives result in fewer deals and reduced targeting efforts on the part of local government. Lastly, this analysis shows no employment effect for headquarters or branch plants. This finding further discredits the so called “business climate” thesis, in that the business types which are arguably more mobile than local small businesses do not appear to be fleeing living wage cities or changing their location decisions in response to the change in the local political environment.

1. Turn – living wages stimulate economic growth as a whole. Extend and cx-apply my 2nd contention – **Thompson & Chapman** and **Holtom** show that living wages increase worker productivity and reduce turnover, leading to a 4x increase in profits.
2. Turn – higher wages stimulate the economy, increasing efficiency and demand. **Lester ??**[[13]](#footnote-13)

A critical aspect in the public debate over business assistance living wage laws is the degree to which they will actually impact the local economy. On the one hand, many living wage proponents argue that business assistance clauses will not cause significant job losses. This argument is supported by research that indicates that higher minimum and living wages lead to efficiency gains for firms through reduced turnover (see Dube, Lester, Reich 2010a). In addition, increasing wages for the lowest paid workers also has a simulative effect for local economies, as low-income households typically spend more of their dollars locally. In addition to the potential positive, or offsetting, impacts of living wage laws, some researchers suggest that given their narrow scope business assistance living wage laws typically impact only a small number of firms that receive direct subsidies, and only a fraction of these firms employ workers below the mandated wage. In this view, business assistance laws function as a lower bound that serves to prevent localities from subsidizing low wage jobs, but they don’t themselves represent a drastic reshaping of existing local labor practices

Also provides a second warrant for my #2 turn, that living wages boost firm productivity and reduce turnover.

1. Structural violence outweighs-
   1. No internal link between growth and structural violence – extend & cross apply **Fletcher 13** – over the past 20 years, in spite of economic and employment growth, there have been increases in poverty and income inequality. Growth empirically disproven from alleviated structural violence.
   2. CX apply **2nd contention subpoint A** weighing – impacts to structural violence outweigh on magnitude, probability, time frame, reversibility, and accuracy.
      1. [*Go through these 1 by 1 and apply if time permits.*

.

AT – Labor Substitution

1. No impact – my empirics show that the net effect is a reduction in poverty and increase in business profits.
2. Empirically denied – cross-apply contention 2 evidence – Thompson/Chapman cites three independent studies showing a decrease in turnover.
3. Turn – Labor substitution is good – makes firms more productive and stimulates growth. **Maloney 13**[[14]](#footnote-14)

There is substantial evidence of indirect productivity benefits from living wage laws through reduced worker turnover (e.g., see Reich et al., 2005; and Howes, 2005). These effects would further reduce the impact of higher wages on firm costs. Less clear is the possibility that living wages might also reduce absenteeism (e.g., see Brenner, 2005 for limited evidence of the opposite effect in Boston). Even more importantly is the considerable evidence on what can be called “labour substitution effects”. Once employers raise wages, they face a more experienced and skilled pool of job applicants. Firms will become more productive over time because of this compositional change in their workforces. For example, Fairris and Bujanda (2007) find that employers paying a living wage were able to hire more workers with previous training and those paid higher wages in previous jobs. Similar results have been found throughout the literature.

AT – Labor Substitution (race/gender)

1. Empirically denied – cross-apply contention 2 evidence – Thompson/Chapman cite three independent studies showing a decrease in turnover.
2. Turn – Aff disproportionately helps disadvantaged groups – **Niedt**[[15]](#footnote-15) writes

The unequal distribution of racial groups among these occupations suggests a racially segmented labor market within these occupational categories. To test for the statistical significance of this unequal distribution, we compared these observed counts against the number expected for each occupational category if people of different racial groups were evenly distributed across them. In other words, we would expect the proportion of janitors who are African American to be roughly equal to their share of the total population of low-wage service workers. By this test, African Americans are overrepresented in the following occupational categories: janitors, guards, and construction workers. A chi square test indicates that these disparities are statistically significant, meaning that they cannot be attributed to chance. The gender distribution of low-wage workers is similarly uneven and beyond what would be expected if chance were the only factor in determining the distribution.13 Women constitute 49% of this population, but, as shown in Table 3, they account for 83% of administrative support workers and 84% of the personal services category: attendants, guides, child care providers, public transportation attendants, etc. Conversely, construction and other “laborer” categories, security guards, and transportation are primarily a male domain.

These labor sectors are targeted by my advocacy so labor substitution outweighed by disproportionate gains for disadvantaged groups.

1. Turn - Living wage laws have the potential to give women the ability to control their own futures – even if some lose jobs the benefits outweigh on scope. Seguino 2:

How could labor standards improve the ability of these women to achieve their goals of provisioning for children and for expansion of their ability to make life choices? The implementation of labor standards and living wages has the potential to help reduce gender inequality in part through the effect on gender wage inequality. Closing gender wage gaps can attenuate women’s unequal bargaining power in the household by improving women’s fallback position. This power shift could result in negotiation for a more fair distribution of unpaid labor between the adult women and men in the household, and can also lead to a more equitable distribution of household resources between females and males in the family. With more equity at the household level, women’s opportunities to participate in paid labor might also expand.

AT – Reduced Welfare Benefits

1. My evidence takes into account reductions in welfare and still finds living wage reduces poverty as a net of wage increases greater than benefit reductions.
2. Living wage only incentivizes work – benefits only accrue to those with jobs. Means-tested welfare programs unambiguously disincentivize work. **Dolan 14**[[16]](#footnote-16)

The figure[[17]](#footnote-17) is very general. It could represent a conventional cash welfare program like Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), an in-kind program like SNAP (food stamps), or a negative income tax, which would have cash benefits in the form of refundable tax credits administered through the Internal Revenue Service. The existing welfare system of the United States is, of course, more complicated. It is a combination of many state and federal programs, some with in-kind benefits and some with cash benefits; some with narrower eligibility requirements than others; some with benefit reduction rates of 100 percent or more and one, the earned income tax credit, with negative benefit reduction rates for some households; and some with income limits where benefits cut off abruptly, causing “notches” in the disposable income schedule. (For details, see this earlier post.) Despite its simplicity, the generic program illustrated in Figure 1 is sufficient to support our first important proposition: Proposition 1: **Any means-tested income support program will unambiguously reduce average work effort**. The numbered arrows in Figure 1 show why. Begin with Arrow 1, which shows how the program affects your work incentives if your earned income is initially below the break-even level. **First**, you can see that **regardless of how much you work, you** will **receive some benefit** from the government**, so your disposable income will rise**. Other things being equal, **people** tend to **“spend” part of their increased income on** increased **leisure, in the form of shorter hours, longer vacations,** a longer time in school, **earlier retirement**, or longer breaks between jobs. **Economists call that the income effect of a higher income**. **Second, the income support program** changes the tradeoff you face between additional work and additional earned income. Suppose your best available job pays $10 per hour. Without the MTIS, one more hour of work brings you $10 of added disposable income. With the MTIS, one more hour of work raises your disposable income by only $2.50, because the $10 you earn is offset by a loss of $7.50 in benefits. In effect, the program **reduces** the “price” (more properly, **the opportunity cost**) **of leisure, so you** are more likely to **substitute leisure for work** and the disposable income it brings in. **Economists call that the substitution effect** of the program. Below the break-even level of income, **the income and substitution effects work in the same direction, so there is an unambiguous incentive to work less**. Some people might stop working altogether. Some might reduce their hours, take longer vacations, or spend more time between jobs. Whatever the specifics, the average response will be a reduction in work hours. Even if some people have employers who allow no flexibility in hours worked, the average response for the whole population to whom the policy applies will be zero.

1. Turn – welfare makes poverty worse, the aff is a shift away from it. **Henderson 10**[[18]](#footnote-18)

So, while it seems clear that welfare helps the poor who accept welfare, that does not mean that welfare helps the poor generally. Two groups of poor people, not counted in the welfare statistics, are hurt by welfare. The first group consists of the future poor. Economists know that welfare is a disincentive to work, and, therefore, that its existence reduces an economy’s output. If even some of this output would have been used for research and development, and if this forgone R&D would have increased growth, then welfare hurts growth by reducing R&D. If the annual growth rate of GDP in the United States had been just one percentage point lower between 1885 and 2005, then the United States today would be no richer than Mexico. The main thing that helps all poor people in the long run is [economic growth](http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/EconomicGrowth.html). Even though the 1920s are thought of as a decade of prosperity, by today’s standards almost all Americans in the 1920s were poor. Economic growth made almost all Americans richer than their counterparts of the 1920s. A reduction in economic growth, even a slight one, if compounded, causes more future poverty than would otherwise have been the case. The second group hurt by U.S. welfare is poor foreigners. The welfare state acts as a magnet for poor immigrants to the United States. Because of this, there are various domestic pressures to limit immigration. Without the welfare state, the number of immigrants would likely rise substantially, meaning that many previously poor foreigners would become much richer. The welfare state limits this improvement.

4. Welfare explodes the government budget and fails – we need to explore alternatives. **Tanner 12**[[19]](#footnote-19)

The American welfare state is much larger than commonly believed. The federal government alone currently funds and operates 126 different welfare or anti-poverty programs, spending more than $668 billion per year. State and local governments provide additional funding for several of these programs and also operate a number of programs on their own, adding another $284 billion per year. This means that, at all levels, government is spending more than $952 billion per year, just short of the trillion dollar mark. Yet for all this spending, we have made remarkably little progress in reducing poverty. Indeed, poverty rates have risen in recent years even as spending on anti-poverty programs has increased. All of this suggests that the answer to poverty lies not in the expansion of the welfare state, but in building the habits and creating the conditions that lead to prosperity.

AT – CRA Econ Development

AT – New York loses econ growth. CRA

While 19 other cities have a combination of business assistance clauses in their living wage ordinances that can be compared to those proposed in NYC, there is no city with the full panoply of penalties and costs proposed for NYC. First, there is no city we have been able to identify that puts the burden of monitoring costs on the developer or owner of a building. Where enforcement is not simply effected by the filing of a civil cause of action by an impacted employee, cities often use city resources to establish departments or officers in charge of enforcement. As we learned in our developer survey responses, no developer who responded has ever had access to private, tenant payroll taxes (or payroll information of any kind) and most view this as a costly venture. Furthermore, it is not clear that tenants would be 156 willing to provide this information in a few assisted buildings when they did not have to reveal it in any other location. Second, many cities include a clause concerning “willful and repeat violations” or something similar before entities are barred from continuing to receive assistance or from bidding for future assistance. Most of those we examined in detail have a 30-day period for reinstating compliance with attendant fines including only back pay restitution or daily fines of under $1,000. Only a few have any mention of repayment of assistance already received and we have found no instances where that clause has yet been enforced.

AT – Politics DA

1. No link – the aff advocates that cities implement living wages, its not a federal policy so it won’t be passed by congress or affect political capital.
2. CX apply the fourth point of contention 3 subpoint A – that if this scenario were to arise policymakers would take action. They could do [1-3 *alternative policies that solve].* Each of these arguments is terminal defense on the DA – has 0 probability.
3. Turn – The living wage is popular and has substantial momentum. The country is heading towards a living wage due to increased sympathy with the working poor. **Dreier[[20]](#footnote-20)**

This upsurge in government-mandated wage hikes hasn’t come about suddenly. It is the result of years of both changing conditions, effective grassroots organizing, and changing public views about the poor. Throughout his presidency, Ronald Reagan often told the story of a so-called “welfare queen” in Chicago who drove a Cadillac and had ripped off $150,000 from the government using 80 aliases, 30 addresses, a dozen Social Security cards and four fictional dead husbands. Journalists searched for this welfare cheat and discovered that she didn’t exist. Nevertheless, Reagan kept using the anecdote to demonize the poor. Reagan’s bully pulpit, and the increasing success of right-wing think tanks and writers in dominating public discussion about poverty, led to a protracted political debate about welfare. To show that he was a different kind of Democrat, Clinton campaigned in 1992 to “end welfare as we know it,” in part by “making work pay.” Congress enacted so-called welfare reform in 1996, limiting the time people can receive assistance. Although liberals understandably decried this approach, it ironically helped shift public opinion and stereotypes about the poor. According to historians and sociologists, the public distinguishes between the “undeserving” and the “deserving” poor. The latter are viewed as more responsible, hard-working, and victims of circumstances beyond their control. Increasingly, Americans came to view low-income people as the “working poor,” a group considered more sympathetic than the so-called “welfare poor.” In the 1990s, the mainstream news media began to pay more attention to the working poor, while academics and journalists expressed growing concern about the “Walmart-ization” of the economy – the growing number of low-wage jobs with few benefits. In 1999 Barbara Ehrenreich published an article in Harper’s magazine that two years later became her bestselling book, Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America, recounting her experiences toiling alongside hard-working low-wage employees who couldn’t make ends meet. But it took effective grassroots organizing to translate these changing sentiments into public policy. Progressives and Socialists advocated for minimum wages – sometimes called a “fair” or “living” wages – in the early 1900s. Their activism paved the way for state laws and eventually the adoption of the federal minimum wage in 1938. That law requires Congress to set the federal minimum wage, which reflected the partisan and ideological swings. In terms of purchasing power, the federal wage reached its peak in 1968 – $1.60 an hour back then, but $10.69 in purchasing power today. The federal wage rarely came close to putting workers above the poverty line. In 1994, it had sunk to $4.25 — or $7.31 in today’s dollars. Congress hadn’t raised the threshold in three years, despite rising living costs**. Frustrated by Congressional inaction, a coalition of community organizations, religious congregations, and labor unions** in Baltimore – called BUILD – **mobilized a successful grassroots campaign to pass the nation’s first “living wage”** law in 1994. It required companies with municipal contracts and subsidies to pay employees decently. The movement was not only motivated by stagnating wages but allow by the city governments efforts contract public services to private firms paying lower wages and benefits than those that prevailed in the public sector. **The idea quickly caught fire**. Since then, **about 120 cities have adopted laws that establish a wage floor**, from $9 to $16 an hour, mostly for businesses that receive contracts or subsidies from local governments. Unions and community organizing groups – particularly ACORN – played key roles in mounting these campaigns. **The living wage movement was one of the most successful**, if unheralded, **community organizing efforts over the past two decades**. By **injecting the phrase “living wage” into the public debate**, it **helped shift public opinion**, since it implicitly suggests that people who work full-time should not live in poverty. Likewise, the Occupy Wall Street movement, which began in New York City in September 2011 and quickly spread to cities and towns around the country, change the national conversation. At kitchen tables, in coffee shops, in offices and factories, and in newsrooms, Americans began talking about economic inequality, corporate greed, and how America’s super rich have damaged our economy and our democracy. Occupy Wall Street provided Americans with a language – the “one percent” and the “99 percent” – to explain the nation’s widening economic divide, the super-rich’s undue political influence, and the damage triggered by Wall Street’s reckless behavior that crashed the economy and caused enormous suffering and hardship. Even after local officials had pushed Occupy protestors out of parks and public spaces, the movement’s excitement and energy were soon harnessed and co-opted by labor unions, community organizers, and progressive politicians like Seattle’s Murray, New York’s de Blasio, newly-elected mayors Betsy Hodges of Minneapolis and Marty Walsh of Boston, and many others, who embraced the idea of using local government to address income inequality and low wages. The proportion of American workers in unions has fallen to 11 percent — and to 6 percent in the private sector. Union activists view these campaigns among low-wage employees – disproportionately women, people of color, and immigrants – as a potential catalyst to rebuild the labor movement as a force for economic justice and as a way to regain public support. Growing activism by low-wage workers around the country – assisted primarily by SEIU, UNITE HERE, and the United Food and Commercial Workers union – has put a public face and sense of urgency over the plight of America’s working poor. Over the past two years, workers across the country at fast-food chains such as McDonalds, Taco Bell and Burger King have gone on strike and demanded a base wage of at least $15 per hour. Walmart workers have engaged in one-day work stoppages and civil disobedience as part of an escalating grassroots campaign to demand that the nation’s largest private employer pay its workers at least $25,000 a year, thousands more than a full-time worker making $10.10 per hour would earn. These protests triggered increasing media coverage, including brilliant put-downs on The Daily Show with Jon Stewart and The Colbert Report of the conservative arguments against the minimum wage. Progressive think tanks have produced reports that gave substance to growing public outrage about the widening divide and the plight of the working poor. According to the National Employment Law Project (NELP), the majority of new jobs created since 2010 pay just $13.83 an hour or less. Last year a NELP study revealed that the low wages paid to employees of the 10 largest fast-food chains cost taxpayers an estimated $3.8 billion a year by forcing employees to rely on public assistance to afford food, health care, and other basic necessities. A study released in March by the Institute for Policy Studies found that the bonuses handed to 165,200 executives by Wall Street banks in 2013 – totaling $26.7 billion – in would be enough to more than double the pay for all 1,085,000 Americans who work full-time at the current federal minimum wage of $7.25 per hour. The reality of widening inequality and declining living standards, the activism of Occupy Wall Street radicals and low-wage workers, and increasing media coverage of these matters has changed public opinion. A national survey by the Pew Research Center conducted in January 2014 found that 60 percent of Americans – including 75 percent of Democrats, 60 percent of independents, and even 42 percent of Republicans – think that the economic system unfairly favors the wealthy. The poll discovered that 69 percent of Americans believe that the government should do “a lot” or “some” to reduce the gap between the rich and everyone else. Nearly all Democrats (93 percent) and large majorities of independents (83 percent) and Republicans (64 percent) said they favor government action to reduce poverty. Over half (54 percent) of Americans support raising taxes on the wealthy and corporations in order to expand programs for the poor, compared with one third (35 percent) who believe that lowering taxes on the wealthy to encourage investment and economic growth would be the more effective approach. Overall, 73 percent of the public – including 90 percent of Democrats, 71 percent of independents, and 53 percent of Republicans – favor raising the federal minimum wage from its current level of $7.25 an hour to $10.10 an hour. Major business lobby groups routinely oppose raising the minimum wage at local, state and federal levels. But a new survey of business executives suggests that these trade associations may not be speaking for the majority of their members. In fact, a majority of business executives surveyed by CareerBuilder.com actually favor raising the minimum wage, saying it would raise the standard of living among their employees and give the companies a better chance to hold on to their workers. A whopping 62 percent of employers said the minimum wage in their state should be increased. A mere 8 percent of those surveyed said $7.25 an hour, the current federal minimum wage, is fair. The majority of employers, 58 percent, said a fair minimum wage is between $8 and $10 an hour, while others nearly 20 percent said a fair minimum wage is between $11 and $14. And another seven percent believed that minimum wage workers should make $15 or more per hour. (The study was based on a survey of 2,188 full-time hiring and human resource managers). In other words, progressives have clearly won the moral argument. Americans believe that people who work should not live in poverty. So business groups have to resort to persuading the public that raising the federal minimum wage – or adopting a living wage or minimum wage plan at the local level – will hurt the economy. Business lobby groups and business-funded think tanks – including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and its local affiliates, the National Restaurant Association, the American Legislative Exchange Council, the Employment Policies Institute (an advocacy group funded by the restaurant industry) and other industry trade associations – typically dust off studies by consultants-for-hire warning that firms employing low wage workers will be forced to close, hurting the very people the measure was designed to help. But such dire predictions have never materialized. That’s because they’re bogus. In fact, many economic studies show that raising the minimum wage is good for business and the overall economy. Why? Because when low-wage workers have more money to spend, they spend it, almost entirely in the local community, on basic necessities like housing, food, clothing and transportation. When consumer demand grows, businesses thrive, earn more profits, and create more jobs. Economists call this the “multiplier effect.” Moreover, most minimum-wage jobs are in “sticky” (immobile) industries – such as restaurants, hotels, hospitals and nursing homes and retail stores – that can’t flee. In their new book, When Mandates Work: Raising Living Standards at the Local Level, economists Michael Reich and Ken Jacobs of the University of California at Berkley summarize the findings of research on the impact of local minimum wage laws. They discovered that there are no differences in employment levels between comparable cities with and without living wage laws. In doing so, they showed that business lobby groups are crying wolf when they claim that these laws drive away business and kill jobs. All this local activism and shifts in public opinion have had a significant political impact. Mainstream politicians of both parties increasingly feel compelled to discuss the nation’s growing inequality and the greed of the super-rich. In his January 2013 State of the Union address, Obama proposed raising the federal minimum wage to $9 an hour. “Even with the tax relief we’ve put in place, a family with two kids that earns the minimum wage still lives below the poverty line. That’s wrong,” Obama said. The following November, he embraced a bill sponsored by Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa and Rep. George Miller of California to lift the federal minimum to $10.10 an hour. In the 2012 Republican presidential primaries, some GOP candidates attacked Mitt Romney for being an out-of-touch crony capitalist. In his campaign against Obama, Romney opposed a hike in the minimum wage. But this May Romney urged Republicans to endorse a $10.10 minimum wage, arguing that it would help GOP candidates “convince the people who are in the working population, particularly the Hispanic community, that our party will help them get better jobs and better wages.” It is unlikely that either Obama’s or Romney’s change of heart was the result of key economic advisers persuading them that a bigger wage boost was needed to reduce poverty and stimulate the economy. Both of those things are true, and surely entered into their thinking, but the major impetus was political. They were responding to the growing protest movement, public opinion polls and election outcomes that reflect widespread sentiment that people who work full time shouldn’t be mired in poverty. Despite public support for a federal wage hike, the Republicans in Congress have refused to budge. In March 2013, for example, all 227 House Republicans (plus six Democrats) voted against the Harkin-Miller bill. (184 Democrats voted yes). This year, Democrats, unions and other progressives view the growing momentum for a minimum-wage hike as a way to pressure Congressional Republicans facing tough re-election campaigns next year, hoping to persuade them to support an increase. Whether they do or don’t, **the movement to raise wages will continue to gain momentum at the local and state levels.** It is a heartening reminder that democracy – the messy mix of forces that typically pits organized people versus organized money – can still work**.**

Polls show this too. **Quigley 01**[[21]](#footnote-21)

The living wage movement is also buoyed by broad public support. An April, 2000 survey found that 94% of the one thousand adults questioned agreed with the statement that "as a country, we should make sure that people who work full-time should be able to earn enough to keep their families out of poverty."2" There also has been consistent public backing for raising the minimum wage.27 Other polls continue to show overwhelming support for modest raises in the minimum wage.28 Conservative Pat Buchanan received wide support for his call for "a standard of living that rises each year, and a 'family wage' that enables a single parent to feed, clothe, house, and educate a large family in decency."2 9 Students and faculty in universities are now advocating for their institutions to pay all their workers at least living wages."

3. Turn – Winners win; passage of the plan generates momentum and increases political capital. **Friedman 10**[[22]](#footnote-22)

In politics and diplomacy, success breeds authority and authority breeds more success. No one ever said it better than Osama bin Laden: “When people see a strong horse and a weak horse, by nature they will like the strong horse.” Have no illusions, the rest of the world was watching our health care debate very closely, waiting to see who would be the strong horse — Obama or his Democratic and Republican health care opponents? At every turn in the debate, America’s enemies and rivals were gauging what the outcome might mean for their own ability to push around an untested U.S. president. It remains to be seen whether, in the long run, America will be made physically healthier by the bill’s passage. But, in the short run, Obama definitely was made geopolitically healthier. “When others see the president as a winner or as somebody who has real authority in his own house, it absolutely makes a difference,” Defense Secretary Robert Gates said to me in an interview. “All you have to do is look at how many minority or weak coalition governments there are around the world who can’t deliver something big in their own country, but basically just teeter on the edge, because they can’t put together the votes to do anything consequential, because of the divided electorate.” President Obama has had “a divided electorate and was still able to muscle the thing through.” When President Dmitri Medvedev of Russia spoke by phone with Obama the morning after the health care vote — to finalize the New Start nuclear arms reduction treaty — he began by saying that before discussing nukes, “I want to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the health care vote,” an administration official said. That was not just rank flattery. According to an American negotiator, all throughout the arms talks, which paralleled the health care debate, the Russians kept asking: “Can you actually get this ratified by the Senate” if an arms deal is cut? Winning passage of the health care bill demonstrated to the Russians that Obama could get something hard passed. Our enemies surely noticed, too. You don’t have to be Machiavelli to believe that the leaders of Iran and Venezuela shared the barely disguised Republican hope that health care would fail and, therefore, Obama’s whole political agenda would be stalled and, therefore, his presidency enfeebled. He would then be a lame duck for the next three years and America would be a lame power. Given the time and energy and political capital that was spent on health care, “failure would have been unilateral disarmament,” added Gates. “Failure would have badly weakened the president in terms of dealing with others — his ability to do various kinds of national security things. ... You know, people made fun of Madeleine [Albright] for saying it, but I think she was dead on: most of the rest of the world does see us as the ‘indispensable nation.’ ” Indeed, our allies often complain about a world of too much American power, but they are not stupid. They know that a world of too little American power is one they would enjoy even less. They know that a weak America is like a world with no health insurance — and a lot of pre-existing conditions. Gen. James Jones, the president’s national security adviser, told me that he recently met with a key NATO counterpart, who concluded a breakfast by congratulating him on the health care vote and pronouncing: “America is back.” But is it? While Obama’s health care victory prevented a power outage for him, it does not guarantee a power surge. Ultimately, what makes a strong president is a strong country — a country whose underlying economic prowess, balance sheet and innovative capacity enable it to generate and project both military power and what the political scientist Joe Nye calls “soft power” — being an example that others want to emulate. What matters most now is how Obama uses the political capital that health care’s passage has earned him. I continue to believe that the most important foreign policy issue America faces today is its ability to successfully engage in nation building — nation building at home. Obama’s success in passing health care and the bounce it has put in his step will be nothing but a sugar high if we can’t get our deficit under control, inspire a new generation of start-ups, upgrade our railroads and Internet and continue to attract the world’s smartest and most energetic immigrants. An effective, self-confident president with a weak country is nothing more than a bluffer. An effective, self-confident president, though, at least increases the odds of us building a stronger country.

AT – Unions DA

1. Non-unique – living wages have already passed in over one hundred cities so the DA is inevitable. And they’re in a double bind because either a) the aff isn’t sufficient to trigger the DA given that it hasn’t happened or b) any small risk should cause their impact scenario, at which case it should have happened with earlier municipalities.
2. Turn - Unions achieve efficient economic outcomes and increase productivity **Mulligan 13**[[23]](#footnote-23)

Professor Coase’s property rights logic suggests that reassignment of ownership of some production processes and decisions from owners and management to workers – as is often the case under union-negotiated contracts – should not significantly change how businesses are run. That means that unions should avoid strikes and oppose featherbedding and for the same economic reasons that union-free shops do. Union wage demands would not reduce employment, at least in the short run. In this “bargaining” view, unions would achieve efficient outcomes by bargaining over many aspects of the employment relationship, and not just salaries. A bargaining union would not accept featherbedding, for example, but instead would offer to give up featherbedding in exchange for something else (perhaps cash, or the creation of an additional productive position), because the featherbedding costs the employer more than it benefits the union members. If unions do too much to shrink the size of the economic pie, it’s difficult for them to enhance the lives of their members. Indeed, reasoning like Professor Coase’s had, in the union context, already been examined by labor economists like [Wassily Leontief](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1824935) at Harvard. Although it does not mention the Coase Theorem, “[What Do Unions Do?](http://books.google.com/books/about/What_do_unions_do.html?id=h_YY7f8ckT0C)” by Prof. Richard Freeman and Prof. James Medoff offers the most vivid explanations of the productivity consequences of unions. Strikes and featherbedding are rare in unionized industries. More typically, they said, unions enhance productivity by, among other things, reducing turnover and supporting training programs that make workers more productive.

And prefer (a) more specific to types of unions in the aff world (b) on balance agenda so more likely to happen

1. Turn (DON’T READ WITH 2) Union decline is inevitable which non-uniques your DA – and the aff only makes decline faster. **Swier 13**[[24]](#footnote-24)

Many blame the decline of union membership on Republicans and big business. But is that what history tells us? The answer is: No! As political power becomes more centralized there is an irreversible decline in the power of unions. It is a cause and effect that cannot be denied or stopped. American unions began forming in the mid-19th century in response to the social and economic impact of the industrial revolution. National labor unions began to form in the post-Civil War Era. The Knights of Labor emerged as a major force in the late 1880s, but it collapsed because of poor organization, lack of effective leadership, disagreement over goals, and strong opposition from employers and government forces. Government forces are accelerating the collapse of unions. But how? Oleg Atbashian in his book Shakedown Socialism writes, “Union perks mean nothing when there is nothing left to redistribute. The Soviets learned it the hard way. The American unions don’t seem to be able to learn from the mistakes of others.” A recent example is how the unions first supported the Affordable Care Act and are now opposing it. Townhall.com reported in July 2013, “The leaders of three major U.S. unions, including the highly influential Teamsters, have sent a scathing open letter to Democratic leaders in Congress, warning that unless changes are made, President Obama’s health care reform plan will “destroy the foundation of the 40 hour work week that is the backbone of the American middle class.” If that’s not bad enough, the Affordable Care Act, if not modified, will “destroy the very health and wellbeing of our members along with millions of other hardworking Americans,” the letter says. Atbashian uses the example of Poland’s Solidarnosc, an independent union that spearheaded the overthrow of the oppressive Communist regime in 1989. Why? Because, “…Current [union] perks can only exist in a free and competitive economy that ensures growth and generates wealth – known as ‘capitalist exploitation’ in the lingo of the champions of ‘redistributive justice’.” Unions are only relevant if they retain their control to collectively bargain for wages and benefits. If the government takes over this role, as it did workplace safety with OSHA, then unions are doomed. When government becomes the sole arbiter of the social and economic impact of industry, then unions are forced to submit. Atbashian notes, “The workers are not herd animals, nor are they a separate biological species with a different set of interests. They are as human as anyone else who possesses a mind and free will, and therefore their long-term interests are not different than the rest of humanity. And since the interests of humanity lie with liberty, property rights and the rule of law, this is what the unions should stand for.” Milton Friedman, in Free to Choose: A Personal Statement, wrote, “The ICC [Interstate Commerce Commission] illustrates what might be called the natural history of government intervention. A real or fancied evil leads to demands to do something about it. A political coalition forms consisting of sincere, high-minded reformers and equally sincere interested parties. The incompatible objectives of the members of the coalition (e.g., low prices to consumers and high prices to producers) are glossed over by fine rhetoric about ‘the public interest,’ ‘fair competition,’ and the like. The coalition succeeds in getting Congress (or a state legislature) to pass a law. The preamble to the law pays lip service to the rhetoric and the body of the law grants power to government officials to ‘do something.’ The high-minded reformers experience a glow of triumph and turn their attention to new causes. The interested parties go to work to make sure that the power is used for their benefit. They generally succeed. Success breeds its problems, which are met by broadening the scope of intervention.” Friedman noted, “Bureaucracy takes its toll so that even the initial special interests [e.g. unions] no longer benefit. In the end the effects are precisely the opposite of the objectives of the reformers and generally do not even achieve the objectives of the special interests. Yet the activity is so firmly established and so many vested interests are connected with it that repeal of the initial legislation is nearly inconceivable. Instead, new government legislation is called for to cope with the problems produced by the earlier legislation and a new cycle begins.” The “angel of death” for unions is progressivism, its primary weapon is big government bureaucrats, the anti-union soldiers.

AT – Crime DA

1. Poverty controls the internal link to the worst forms of crime – means that AC contention turns your impacts. **Webster and Kingston 2014**[[25]](#footnote-25)

One of the most striking and consistent links between poverty and crime is that between inequality, poverty and homicide, which has been found in many different settings and countries. Most evidence shows a strong impact of poverty on violent crimes such as murder, assault and domestic violence too. Poverty is the most consistent predictor of area homicide rates reinforced by the inequality‐homicide association. When effects for poverty are included as well as for inequality there is a stronger poverty‐homicide relationship, than a homicide‐inequality one.

1. Your evidence talks about property crimes – people stealing because they don’t have enough money. Thus the contention also controls the DA’s links as well.

Additional Turnover Aff

Impact - workers

Turnover leads to lower lifetime wages, decreasing it leads to long run gains for workers. **Bartel and Borjas[[26]](#footnote-26):**

3. Labor turnover and wage growth within the job are related through the observed positive correlation between wage growth and completed job tenure. Individuals who expected to remain on the job an additional year experienced steeper wage growth in the current period, ceteris paribus. 4. Since labor turnover was therefore found to have offsetting effects on wage growth, i.e. leading to wage gains across jobs but flatter growth in shorter jobs, its effect on lifetime wage growth could not be predicted. Our empirical analysis showed, however, that, even after holding total labor force experience constant, there exists a strong positive correlation between length of current tenure and total life—cycle wage growth. Thus, while early mobility may pay, individuals who are still changing jobs later in life experience lower overall wage growth. In summary, this paper has tried to show that labor turnover affects not only the growth of wages across jobs but also the rate at which wages grow on the job. It is therefore an important factor that must be taken account of in any study of the earnings distribution.

Impact Expansion – Productivity/poverty

Meta studies prove that turnover harms firm performance. Park and Shaw[[27]](#footnote-27)

The authors conducted a meta-analysis of the relationship between turnover rates and organizational performance to (a) determine the magnitude of the relationship; (b) test organization-, context-, and methods-related moderators of the relationship; and (c) suggest future directions for the turnover literature on the basis of the findings. The results from 300 total correlations (N = 309,245) and 110 independent correlations (N = 120,066) show that the relationship between total turnover rates and organizational performance is significant and negative (ρ = –.15). In addition, the relationship is more negative for voluntary (ρ = –.15) and reduction-in-force turnover (ρ = –.17) than for involuntary turnover (ρ = –.01). Moreover, the meta-analytic correlation differs significantly across several organization- and context-related factors (e.g., types of employment system, dimensions of organizational performance, region, and entity size). Finally, in sample-level regressions, the strength of the turnover rates–organizational performance relationship significantly varies across different average levels of total and voluntary turnover rates, which suggests a potential curvilinear relationship. The authors outline the practical magnitude of the findings and discuss implications for future organizational-level turnover research. (PsycINFO Database Record (c) 2013 APA, all rights reserved)

Productivity is key to competitiveness and poverty reduction, and my focus on job quality is uniquely key. Vandenberg[[28]](#footnote-28)

Productivity is a key source of competitiveness and business survival. Small enterprises, which generally exhibit low productivity, often survive by avoiding direct competition with larger, more productive firms. They do this by supplying small, niche markets or catering to a lower quality segment of the market. Low labour productivity translates into lower incomes for workers and owners. When that income is very low, it may not be sufficient for individuals and households to escape from poverty. People can work and still be poor. For small enterprises, the source of low productivity may be the organization of the work process and job quality, but it may also derive from a lack of demand. An enterprise may exhibit low productivity because human and capital resources are underutilized; for micro-enterprise owners this means under-employment. The ILO’s small enterprise programme (IFP/SEED) has sought to increase the productivity of small enterprises through improved job quality and market access. This has been pursued, in part, through the development and use of management curricula for different types of small enterprises. Working through service providers, the curricula have been used for courses in a variety of countries. The paper has reviewed a number of case studies based on the training and has shown the variety of ways in which a more cooperative, empowered and contented workforce can help to increase productivity. It is also clear that market demand is an important aspect of productivity and critical for the smallest firms. For a global organization such as the ILO, instituting management training to support productivity increase is an important first step in testing the job quality approach. The full benefit of this work will come, however, from ensuring that these curricula are widely disseminated and take on a life of their own, independent of ILO support. The incorporation of the ‘People and Productivity’ module in the global SIYB programme will allow the approach to have greater impact. Furthermore, recent efforts to use a social awareness campaign in Ghana to reach a broad audience appear to have achieved good outreach and impact. Other interesting examples include work at the sector and cluster levels in developing countries, with local, collective institutions. There is still much that can be done to increase productivity through job quality and market access, thus bringing the benefits of the productivity movement to the poor.

Firm productivity key to poverty reduction – takes out unemployment arguments because employment in unproductive firms isn’t enough. Hull[[29]](#footnote-29)

Second, is employment-intensive or productivity-intensive growth more important for poverty reduction? This will depend on the quality (or productivity) of jobs in the sector in which growth occurs. Put simply, for employment-intensive growth to translate into poverty reduction it must occur in a “more productive” sector, while “less productive” sectors may require productivity-intensive growth to ensure a decline in headcount poverty. The first two steps of the framework in Part III provide tools for profiling growth (according to its employment- and productivity-intensity) and assessing its impact on poverty

AT some turnover is good

* I don’t claim to eliminate turnover, I curtail high turnover. I coopt any impact turn because it still happens in my world just at good levels.

Perms - UBI

1. Perm – pay a UBI to people who don’t work and a UBI + living wage for people that do. Net benefit is incentive to work – otherwise there would be no reason to get a job at low-income levels. Additionally perm shields the links on the aff the only reason that unemployment is bad is that people don’t have an income to fall back on.

* (more round spec reasons that perm shields the link)

1. Perm – implement the living wage to develop political momentum to pass the UBI . The living wage is a necessary step for UBI implementation, **Keddy[[30]](#footnote-30) 2015:**

The one commonality that these three initiatives share is that they all challenge the prevailing ideology that wages should be based on an economic market approach. Instead, at least at the lower end of the income spectrum, these initiatives promote the idea that wages should be based on need. While a needs based approach to wages faces strong opposition and is decried by many economists and politicians, the idea is gaining momentum with the general public who feel that the market-based approach is leading to further income inequality. As awareness turns to activism, initiatives that attempt to frame wages in terms of need will increasingly become more successful. This, in turn, could potentially lead to a wider discussion and greater support for more progressive (or radical) socio-economic ideas such as a guaranteed income supplement or a basic income.

* Net benefit is all of the CP advantages – you can’t access it without the living wage. And you can’t just fiat implementation because a) destroys turn ground to the cp because I lose common implementation DA’s and politics objections b) key to ensure real world advocacies – otherwise we could defend whatever we wanted in round.

1. Perm – Implement both the UBI and a living wage. Perm solves for the employment arguments on case – firms have more money from the UBI so they can afford wage increases.

#### Perm—Do the aff now and then the CP once technology can sufficiently handle minimum wage jobs. The aff supports low wage workers in the meantime and causes technology boosts for specific robot jobs. McMorris 14[[31]](#footnote-31)

The private sector has responded to calls to increase wages with technological innovations designed to cut labor costs. Momentum Machines, a San Francisco-based start up, created a [burger flipping machine](http://singularityhub.com/2014/08/10/burger-robot-poised-to-disrupt-fast-food-industry/) that churns out hundreds of burgers per hour. Those machines are likely to find their way into fast food franchises if labor costs increase dramatically, according to critics of the proposed increase. “Raising the minimum wage gives the robots a competitive advantage,” Duke Prof. Campbell Harvey said of the survey. “The manufacturing sector is already telling us that spending on labor-saving technologies will allow them to shed 11 percent of their current employees over the next five years. Nearly three-fourths of that expenditure is aimed at the jobs with the lowest paid workers. Higher minimum wages will push firms to choose more robots and fewer people.”

AT - UBI

Turn – the UBI creates a permanent underclass and locks people into poverty. **Lindsey 14**[[32]](#footnote-32)

I think a good case can be made that a UBI would be more helpful to the disadvantaged than the patchwork of frequently intrusive, infantilizing, bureaucratic, and wasteful means-tested programs that presently constitutes the American social safety net. So if I could wave a magic wand and replace the policy status quo with a UBI, I would do so. That said, my reading of the available evidence convinces me that a social policy that channels benefits through work and thereby encourages paid employment has important advantages over a UBI in helping the disadvantaged to live full, happy, productive, and rewarding lives. What evidence? Let’s start with the well-established finding that unemployment has major negative effects on well-being, including both mental and physical health. And the effects are remarkably persistent. A study using German panel data examined changes in reported life satisfaction after marriage, divorce, birth of a child, death of a spouse, layoff, and unemployment. All had predictable effects in the short term, but for five of the six the effect generally wore off with time: the joy of having a new baby subsided, while the pain of a loved one’s death gradually faded. The exception was unemployment: even after five years, the researchers found little evidence of adaptation. Evidence even more directly on point comes from the experience of welfare reform – specifically, the imposition of work requirements on recipients of public assistance. Interestingly, studies of the economic consequences of reform showed little or no change in recipients’ material well-being. But a pair of studies found a positive impact on single mothers’ happiness as a result of moving off welfare and finding work. Flanigan is certainly correct that it’s possible to have an enjoyable and satisfying life without working for pay. Employment’s psychic benefits come from engaging us in challenges to overcome, encouraging us to develop and realize our inborn talents, and involving us in projects and purposes larger than ourselves. But we can obtain these benefits just as well through hobbies, volunteer work, and family life. And indeed, there is a real tension between the demands of a job and these other pathways to happiness, as all of us who struggle for that elusive work-life balance can attest. So you might think that not having to work would free people to spend more time on these other, potentially more rewarding activities. But life doesn’t seem to work that way. Consider the most recent results from the American Time Use Survey, compiled annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 2013, employed men averaged 6.43 hours a day on work and related activities (like commuting). So how did men without jobs fill up all that free time? Well, compared to employed men they spent 19 extra minutes a day on housework, 11 more minutes on socializing, 9 more minutes on exercise and recreation, 8 more minutes on childcare, and 6 more minutes on organizational, civic, and religious activities. The really dramatic differences in time use, though, came in two areas: jobless men spent an extra hour sleeping (for a total of 9.25 hours a day!) and two extra hours watching TV (4.05 hours a day!). The evidence is quite clear: people who don’t work can’t be counted on to fill that void with other forms of productive, engaged, goal-oriented activity. Yes, there are plenty of happy students and stay-at-home parents, and retirement apparently improves well-being. You don’t need a paycheck to thrive. But for most working-age people, paid employment is the most reliable path to commitment, engagement, and a sense of purpose. For most people, joblessness means not only a lack of income, but also lack of status, lack of identity, and lack of direction. It is the path, not to nonpecuniary forms of fulfillment, but to anomie and despair. Over the past few decades, there has been a steady deterioration in American men’s commitment to work. For so-called prime-age males aged 25-54, the labor force participation rate has fallen from 96 percent in 1970 to 88 percent today. This drop-off in participation is concentrated among the less educated and less skilled. Among all adult men in 2010, the labor force participation rate for college grads was 81 percent – compared to 71 percent for high school grads, and only 59 percent for high school dropouts. What is going on? The emergence of the postindustrial information economy is reducing relative demand for, and the relative wages of, less skilled workers. Meanwhile, eligibility for the dole has expanded (especially disability insurance) while the cultural stigma against idleness has faded. This pincer movement is squeezing less skilled men out of the work force. And in turn, the reduced availability of “marriageable” (i.e., gainfully employed) men is contributing to family breakdown at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale. In 2011, 87 percent of kids who have a parent with a college degree lived with both of their parents – compared to only 53 percent of kids of high school grads, and 47 percent of the kids of high school dropouts. Unstable single-parent families can then be expected to produce another generation of unmarriageable less skilled men, thus perpetuating a vicious circle. The rise of mass joblessness among the less skilled is a catastrophe, plain and simple. Work and family, the two great cornerstones of life satisfaction, are both under assault, and declining commitment to one is feeding declining commitment to the other. Under these circumstances, a UBI cannot be recommended as sound social policy. The great challenge at present is to arrest and reverse the slide of less skilled Americans into a permanent underclass – even as automation and globalization continue to marginalize the role and value of low-skill work. But as the celebrated negative income tax experiments of the late 1960s and early 1970s made clear, unconditional income support reduces labor supply. Perhaps not dramatically, but still the impact is going in the wrong direction. By contrast, wage subsidies in the form of graduated payments to employers of low-skill workers can increase the attractiveness of work and boost labor force participation.

UBI – Funding DA

The UBI causes a massive increase in governmental spending – even a low income would lower the tax base and cause spending to increase. **McCardle 14**[[33]](#footnote-33)

Well, you’ve got a couple of problems with the guaranteed minimum income. The first is just fiscal. If you look at how much income would be required to actually give anyone what even we consider a very basic standard of living, you’re talking about probably $15,000 for every man, woman and child in the United States. So you think about for a family of two adults — that’s $30,000 a year. That’s probably enough to live on, but what’s the fiscal impact of that? It’s about 200 million people you would have to be sending those checks to — a little over, actually. So you’re talking [would be] about in the region of $6 trillion a year, which is much larger than our current budget. At the same time, you know, often it’s argued: Well, you could do that and you would zero out all the poverty programs. But a lot of the poverty programs are things that I don’t think we would [not] be comfortable zeroing out. So for example, $30,000 a year is probably not enough to pay for a special needs child who has a lot of wheel chairs and special training and so forth that they need, so that program is going to stay. It’s possibly not enough to cushion various financial shocks; those sorts of programs are going to stay. And so what you would end with is an add-on that’s sort of conservatively doubling the size of the federal budget. If you think about the debate, I don’t think there’s anyone in America who wants their taxes doubled. The other problem of course is that some people are going to drop out of the labor force. If you can live without working, some people will choose to. We don’t know how many there are; no one’s ever tried this experiment, but what is the end result? The tax base is going to be shrinking at the same time that the number of payouts has to go up.

Excessive spending destroys growth and leads to economic crisis. **Boccia 13**[[34]](#footnote-34)

America is on a dangerous budget path. Current spending and debt are dangerously high, and future spending and debt are on track to rise even higher in large part due to increasing entitlement spending. Academic research shows that advanced economies like the United States are at risk of significant and prolonged reductions in economic growth when public debt reaches levels of 90 percent of GDP. High public debt threatens to drive interest rates up, to crowd out private investment, and to raise price inflation. The implications would be severe and pronounced for all Americans, but most especially for the poor, the elderly, and the middle class. U.S. policymakers should learn from Greece and Japan and avoid a fiscal crisis and economic stagnation brought about by public debt overhang. Growing federal debt also would increase the probability of a sudden fiscal crisis, during which investors would lose confidence in the government’s ability to manage the budget and the government would thereby lose its ability to borrow at affordable rates. Such a crisis would…probably have a very significant negative impact on the country. -Congressional Budget Office, 2012 Long-Term Budget Outlook U.S. federal spending in 2013, combined with depressed receipts from a weak economy, is on track to result in a deficit of $850 billion. Publicly held debt in the United States will exceed 76 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2013, and chronic deficits are projected to push U.S. debt to 87 percent of the economy in 10 years.[1] Debt is projected to grow even more rapidly after 2023. Recent economic research, especially the work of Carmen Reinhart, Vincent Reinhart, and Kenneth Rogoff, confirms that federal debt at such high levels puts the United States at risk for a number of harmful economic consequences, including slower economic growth, a weakened ability to respond to unexpected challenges, and quite possibly a debt-driven financial crisis.[2] [*ellipses in original]*

UBI – Immigration DA

UBI would eliminate immigration to the US – net increasing global poverty. **McCardle 14**[[35]](#footnote-35)

The greatest poverty reduction program that the world has ever seen has been the [US]United States of America. We have, for decades, over a century, been moving people who are extremely poor in the countries where they are, to a country where, just by being here, their wages can double or triple or quadruple. That would not in any way be compatible with a guaranteed minimum income, just politically. If you come here and become a citizen, that entitles you to a check for $15,000 a year for the rest of your life from the U.S. government? A lot of immigrants are low-wage workers. They’re not skilled, a lot of them. They don’t have as much education as most Americans and so they never do get up to the point where they would ever pay enough in taxes to make back that check. Even if you just limited it to their children, the political support for importing people whose children will then be entitled to the same $15,000 a year as your children — I don’t think that would ever be politically viable. So if you want to have a guaranteed minimum income, you need to shut down, pretty much effectively, shut down immigration, or at least immigration from lower skilled countries, which on net would do a lot more to increase global poverty than it would to decrease poverty in the United States

Immigration is essential to scientific diplomacy – solves global conflict and growth. **Pickering et al. 10[[36]](#footnote-36):**

Over two foggy days in April, a group of high-ranking Chinese science and education leaders and some American counterparts met at a University of California San Diego faculty club to discuss an issue crucial to both nations: educating future generations in the ethical standards surrounding the conduct of research. The meeting was low-key – no TV cameras, no headlines – but from the start, its potential for high impact was clear. Not so many years ago, during the Cold War, the two nations were locked in conflict. Now they were collaborating to strengthen science for the 21st century. The talks were emblematic of a promising global trend that features researchers, diplomats and others collaborating on science and, in the process, building closer ties between nations. Even countries with tense government-to-government relations share common challenges in infectious diseases, earthquake engineering, energy production and environmental protection. The White House and Congress have made welcome moves to embrace the potential of science diplomacy, but in the months and years ahead, they will need to exert still more leadership and make sure the effort has the resources needed to succeed. **Science diplomacy** is hardly a new idea. A 1979 agreement between the United States and China **paved the way for** bilateral scientific cooperation that has generated vast benefits for both nations, including **reduced tensions and billions of dollars in economic activity**. U.S. and Soviet nongovernmental organizations contributed to a Cold War thaw through scientific exchanges, with little government support other than travel visas. Now, science diplomacy may help America open a door toward improved relations with Pyongyang, too. Last December, six Americans representing leading scientific organizations sat down with their North Korean counterparts. High-level science delegations from the United States in recent months also have visited Syria, Cuba and Rwanda, not to mention Asian and European nations. America’s scientific and technological accomplishments are admired worldwide, suggesting a valuable way to promote dialogue. A June 2004 Zogby International poll commissioned by the Arab American Institute found that a deeply unfavorable view of the U.S. in many Muslim nations, but a profoundly favorable view of U.S. science and technology. Similarly, Pew polling data from 43 countries shows that favorable views of U.S. science and technology exceed overall views of the United States by an average of 23 points. Within the scientific community, journals routinely publish articles cowritten by scientists from different nations, and scholars convene frequent conferences to extend those ties. Science demands an intellectually honest atmosphere, peer review and a common language for the professional exchange of ideas. Basic values of transparency, vigorous inquiry and respectful debate are all essential. The North Korea visit, organized by the U.S.-Democratic People’s Republic of Korea Science Engagement Consortium, exemplifies the vast potential of science for diplomacy. The U.S. government already has 43 bilateral umbrella science and technology agreements with nations worldwide, and the administration of President Barack Obama is elevating the profile of science engagement. In June, in Cairo, he promised a range of joint science and technology initiatives with Muslim-majority countries. In November, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton appointed three science envoys to foster new partnerships and address common challenges, especially within Muslim-majority countries. In addition to providing resources, [and]the government should quickly and significantly increase the number of H1-B visas being approved for foreign doctors, scientists and engineers. **Foreign scientists** working or studying in U.S. universities **make critical contributions to human welfare and to our economy,** and **they** often **become informal goodwill ambassadors for America overseas.** Science is a wide-ranging effort that naturally crosses borders, and so scientist-to-scientist collaboration can promote goodwill at the grass roots. San Diego boasts a remarkable initiative at High Tech High charter school. Twice in recent years, biology teacher Jay Vavra has led student teams to Africa to study the illegal trade in meat from wild and endangered animals. Working with game wardens and tribal leaders, they use sophisticated DNA bar coding techniques to analyze the meat and track down poachers. **Such efforts** advance science while supporting peace and the health of the planet. In an era of complex global challenges, science diplomacy **can be crucial to finding solutions both to global problems and to global conflict.**

Perms - EITC

**Perm**: implement the Living wage and the EITC – multiple net benefits

**First** net benefit is poverty – low-income families need as many options as possible. Bernstein**[[37]](#footnote-37)** 05

Are there other policies which could help low-wage low-income workers more that conflict with the passage of living wage ordinances? Certainly, many make the case that the EITC is a far more efficient way to raise the incomes of low-income families (Turner and Barnow 2003). Given that eligibility for the EITC is based on family income and not wages, there can be no argument that the tax credit is more target efficient. However,living wage advocates argue that the two policies are complementary, not competitors. In fact, it is difficult to see why the existence of the EITC would, or should, deter any policymaker from considering the living wage. Clearly, the wage mandate is about adding something extra to the incomes of low-income working families, and the fact that a generous and well-targeted federal tax credit exists is not particularly relevant, if not a non sequitur. Advocates correctly note that even considering the leakage from meanstested programs such as the EITC noted above, many living wage families need the extra resources, and combining the two makes sense from their perspective.

**Second** is that the perm shields the links of DA’s to the CP and the aff. Combining wage floors with the EITC is key. **Wicks-Lim and Thompson 10** [[38]](#footnote-38)

This study advances proposals to substantially strengthen[ing] minimum wage laws and the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) program in the United States, so that, in combination, they can guarantee[s] decent living standards for all full-time U.S. workers and their families. By considering minimum wage laws and the EITC as complements, we show how these measures can operate most effectively to achieve this guarantee and, crucially, how any possible negative unintended consequences of each measure can be minimized. Specifically, we begin by proposing a 70 percent increase in current minimum wage rates. This would raise the federal minimum from today’s rate of $7.25 to $12.30 per hour. We also propose two expansions of the EITC, the federal program that provides tax relief and cash benefits for low-income working families. These include raising the maximum EITC benefits by 80 percent and the income eligibility threshold to three times the federal poverty line. The maximum EITC benefit would rise from $5,028 to $9,040 and households with incomes up to $57,000 could receive some benefit. In combination, these two policy measures would guarantee 60 percent of all low-income working families a decent living standard through full-time employment. The other 40 percent of low-income working families offer more difficult challenges, because they either live in high-cost areas or they depend on only one wage-earner to raise children. But our proposed measures would substantially improve conditions for these households as well. Current policy terms guarantee a decent living standard for only 12 percent of low-income working families. By strengthening both the minimum wage and EITC in combination, we take advantage of how they can operate in complementary ways—that is, with the strengths of one policy making up for the weaknesses of the other. The minimum wage, if raised too high, could cause business costs to rise significantly and in response, employers could potentially lay off workers or cut back on their hours. The EITC [supplements] program has the advantage of supplementing the earnings of low-income workers without raising business costs. Generous EITC benefits, however, tend to draw more people into the labor force and allow employers to pay less while still attracting the workers they need. A robust minimum wage rate would prevent wages from falling too low due to the EITC. Finally, federal budget constraints limit how large EITC benefits can be. We crafted our proposals by first establishing a key measure, which we term the “minimum wage tipping point.” The minimum wage tipping point is reached when business cost increases exceed the capacity of businesses to absorb these costs while maintaining the same level of employment. Of course, there will be some level of the minimum wage at which such a tipping point is reached. Our bias in seeking to identify this tipping point has been, if anything, to err on the low side in our interpretation of the evidence. We do not want to suggest that that virtually any plausible minimum wage increase could be implemented without creating negative employment effects. Nevertheless, based on our cautious interpretation of the evidence, we conclude, once the U.S. economy is recovering from the Great Recession, that the current minimum wage of $7.25 could be raised by 70 percent, to $12.30 per hour, before causing any significant negative employment effects—that is, before hitting the tipping point Two factors combine to make a 70 percent minimum wage hike fall below the tipping point in a growing U.S. economy. The first is that the cost increases of minimum wage hikes for businesses tend to be relatively modest, as a share of their overall costs. In addition, firms are able to adjust to the cost increases resulting from a higher minimum wage through various measures other than layoffs or cutting back workers’ hours. These adjustments include 1) raising prices; 2) improving productivity; 3) reducing profits and 4) expanding firm operations in conjunction with the normal pace of economic growth. A 70 percent increase lifts the minimum wage to a “living wage” for about 72 percent of low-income families residing in states with low-to-average living costs. The remaining 28 percent of low-income working households are those with only one adult worker raising at least one child. Additionally, families living in high-cost areas will need more support than those in the typical state to cover their family budgets. We turn to the EITC program to help close these remaining gaps.

AT - EITC

1. EITC Fails to lift people out of poverty and is less effective than wage floors - **Wicks-Lim and Thompson 10**[[39]](#footnote-39)

The current terms of the federal EITC program do not raise low-income households to decent living standards for two basic reasons. First, the maximum benefit is too low, topping out at $5,028 for households with two children. This compares to a $26,000 gap between the full-time year-round earnings of $15,000 a family would receive at the $7.25 federal minimum wage and the $41,000 needed meet the basic needs of a 3-person family (one adult with two children) living in a typical state. Second, the $5,028 maximum benefit is restricted to families with earnings far below what they need to support a decent living standard. For example, for a 3-person family, EITC benefits begin to phase out at income levels as low as $16,420.

2. Turn – Wage floors are better for firm productivity and workers. **Millman 13**[[40]](#footnote-40)

Third, and relatedly, a hike in the minimum wage creates incentives to improve productivity, while a hike in the EITC has the opposite effect. A hike in the EITC makes it more possible for employees to continue to work, and survive, at very low wages. Because of the low wage, the employer has little incentive to invest in the worker—indeed, any investment is likely to “pay off” by seeing the worker leave for a higher-paying job. By contrast, a hike in the minimum wage creates a dilemma for employers: either they need to get more value out of their employee, or their profits will decline. That creates an incentive to invest in the employee, in order to derive value that justifies the higher wage. And, in fact, there’s empirical evidence that hikes in the minimum wage can reduce turnover and drive productivity improvements at the bottom of the wage scale. Fourth, a substantial hike in the minimum wage would create a powerful disincentive to hire undocumented workers, while an EITC hike does not. Assume that one driver of illegal immigration is that there are workers in poorer countries willing to take jobs at lower wages than similarly-skilled Americans would consider. If you legislate a hike in wages, there is no longer a reason to prefer imported labor (outside the informal sector, where enforcement is difficult regardless). Ron Unz has made the case for a minimum wage hike on these grounds at great length in these pages before; I won’t repeat that case here. Fifth, there is a substantial psychological difference between getting a bigger check from an employer and getting a check from the government. And there is a relatedly substantial psychological difference between legislating a higher minimum wage and legislating compensating payments from the government. The check you get from your employer is what you’ve earned, and legislating a minimum level for that check is a way of saying, as a society: no matter who you are, if you are working, your labor hour is worth at least this much. By contrast, the check from the government is a benefit you are receiving for being poor. And legislating a hike in that benefit has the air of public charity about it. I don’t mean to suggest that public charity is a bad thing—it isn’t, and, indeed, has a vital place among the sentiments that motivate policy. But there is still a meaningful difference between the two approaches to low wages, and I would contend that directly increasing wages shows rather more respect for the dignity of labor. I don’t mean to suggest that there are no arguments on the other side of the ledger. There are. It’s true that a hike in the minimum wage redistributes more than “necessary”—it isn’t narrowly targeted at poor workers the way an EITC hike would be. As well, in times of high inflation, a hike in the minimum wage is likely to add fuel to the inflationary fire and thus create more macroeconomic problems than it solves. Those are also the conditions under which a hike in the minimum wage would be expected to raise unemployment the most. But that is not the environment we are currently in. Under current conditions, there’s a good case to be made that a hike in the minimum wage would reduce unemployment, not increase it (because the stimulative effect of higher wages would more than offset the incentive to business to cut jobs or hours to reduce costs). And at a time of high corporate profits and massive corporate cash hoarding, coupled with a persistent shortfall in demand, it’s a little weird to be worrying about redistributing “too much” from business to labor.

Perms – Wage Subsidies

1. Perm – Implement a living wage and wage subsidies. The perm is key to ensure that firms don’t bid down wages to monopolize the subsidy’s benefits. **Haskell 14**[[41]](#footnote-41)

The second issue, and counter to Phelps’ argument that wage subsidies would bid up wages, is the concern that firms would use the subsidies to bid down wages. Phelps’ argument holds true only if the labor market is healthy and unemployment is relatively low; fewer workers in the applicant pool means firms have to bid up the prices. To prevent workers from capturing the subsidy by demanding outrageous wages knowing that the government will subsidize some of portion of the wage, the subsidy will taper off when wages reach a certain level (in effect a price ceiling as far as subsidies are concerned). For instance, if a worker knows that a firm can only pay $20 an hour, but there is a $2 an hour subsidy, then the worker can demand a wage of $22 an hour knowing the firm can meet that price given $2 of it is subsidized. Conversely, when the labor market is struggling and unemployment is relatively high, firms then have the ability to bid wages down. If a firm knows a worker is willing to work for $8 an hour, and there is a $1 an hour subsidy from the government, the firm can capture the $1 subsidy by offering $7 an hour (which, together with the $1 an hour subsidy, will bring the workers’ subsidized wage to their demand wage of $8 an hour). To prevent this from happening, some price floor (minimum wage) will have to remain in place, and the minimum wage and subsides could be indexed to inflation to prevent businesses from capturing the subsidies as inflation erodes the real value of the subsidized wages.\*

2. Perm – implement the living wage to develop political momentum to pass wage subsidies. The living wage is a necessary step for cp implementation, **Keddy 15**[[42]](#footnote-42)

The one commonality that these three initiatives share is that they all challenge the prevailing ideology that wages should be based on an economic market approach. Instead, at least at the lower end of the income spectrum, these initiatives promote the idea that wages should be based on need. While a needs based approach to wages faces strong opposition and is decried by many economists and politicians, the idea is gaining momentum with the general public who feel that the market-based approach is leading to further income inequality. As awareness turns to activism, initiatives that attempt to frame wages in terms of need will increasingly become more successful. This, in turn, could potentially lead to a wider discussion and greater support for more progressive (or radical) socio-economic ideas such as a[n] guaranteed income supplement or a basic income.

* Net benefit is all of the CP advantages – you can’t access it without the living wage. And you can’t just fiat implementation because a) destroys turn ground to the cp because I lose common implementation DA’s and politics objections b) key to ensure real world advocacies – otherwise we could defend whatever we wanted in round.

3. Perm – Implement the living wage and the CP. CP alone leads to a huge funding DA. **Haskell 14**[[43]](#footnote-43)

First is funding. Where will the subsidies come from? There are economic and political problems here. As to the former, the U.S. tax system is less than ideal, and there are concerns that a wage subsidy program would fall hardest on the shoulders of the middle class. Moreover, it’s almost certain the conservatives and Republicans would balk at such a program given the heated debates over the budget/deficit/spending of the past few years. For instance, the program would cost $1 T for a $3 subsidy for every worker. No one is seriously suggesting that costly a program, and the figures can move around a bit. One suggestion on a wage subsidy program has the price tag at $400 billion. By comparison, the EITC costs the government $60 billion. (Furthermore, “wage subsidy” does not exactly sound like a program GOP candidates would want to run on and support).

And combining the CP with wage floors is the only way to avoid the DA. **Coppola 14**[[44]](#footnote-44)

The real reason why we need a minimum wage has nothing to do with the welfare of workers or the availability of jobs. Welfare is adequately ensured by in-work benefits, and the State is perfectly happy to create the illusion of employment in order to please voters. No, the minimum wage is necessary to protect taxpayers from the rational desire of firms to get something for nothing. The simple fiscal argument for minimum wage legislation goes like this. Both the UK and the US have systems of in-work benefits that top up wages to a level sufficient to live on. So from firms’ perspective, when there is slack in the labour market (unemployment) they have little incentive to pay wages high enough to live on. And from workers’ perspective, they have little incentive to demand higher wages, especially if the consequence might be unemployment. If there is no minimum wage, therefore, then the co-existence of unemployment with in-work benefits drives down wages to below subsistence level. As the majority of government tax income comes from households, not firms, over time this becomes unsustainable: all unskilled workers become in effect employees of the state, and the higher skilled are forced to subsidise the wages of the unskilled through rising taxes. There would inevitably be calls for in-work benefits to be cut, probably supported by demonization of the poor. Unskilled workers would be subject to the same accusations of “fecklessness” and “scrounging” as the unemployed already receive. So in-work benefits without a legislated minimum wage are fiscally unsustainable and socially divisive when there is persistent unemployment.

Excessive spending control the link into all small and large scale impacts – it kills growth and opens the country up to collapse. **Boccia**[[45]](#footnote-45)

America is on a dangerous budget path. Current spending and debt are dangerously high, and future spending and debt are on track to rise even higher in large part due to increasing entitlement spending. Academic research shows that advanced economies like the United States are at risk of significant and prolonged reductions in economic growth when public debt reaches levels of 90 percent of GDP. High public debt threatens to drive interest rates up, to crowd out private investment, and to raise price inflation. The implications would be severe and pronounced for all Americans, but most especially for the poor, the elderly, and the middle class. U.S. policymakers should learn from Greece and Japan and avoid a fiscal crisis and economic stagnation brought about by public debt overhang. Growing federal debt also would increase the probability of a sudden fiscal crisis, during which investors would lose confidence in the government’s ability to manage the budget and the government would thereby lose its ability to borrow at affordable rates. Such a crisis would…probably have a very significant negative impact on the country. -Congressional Budget Office, 2012 Long-Term Budget Outlook U.S. federal spending in 2013, combined with depressed receipts from a weak economy, is on track to result in a deficit of $850 billion. Publicly held debt in the United States will exceed 76 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2013, and chronic deficits are projected to push U.S. debt to 87 percent of the economy in 10 years.[1] Debt is projected to grow even more rapidly after 2023. Recent economic research, especially the work of Carmen Reinhart, Vincent Reinhart, and Kenneth Rogoff, confirms that federal debt at such high levels puts the United States at risk for a number of harmful economic consequences, including slower economic growth, a weakened ability to respond to unexpected challenges, and quite possibly a debt-driven financial crisis.[2

AT – Wage Subsidies

Turn – You make workers worse off – firms will take a disproportionate share of the subsidy. **Prasch 02** [[46]](#footnote-46)

Second, if relative bargaining power is a concern then it matters who, the employer or the employee, actually receives the proposed wage subsidy. This proposition is invisible to most proponents of wage subsidies given their, implicit or explicit, assumption of perfect competition. From this perspective full and free bargaining will ensure us that the value of the wage subsidy, beyond what is minimally necessary to get the worker hired, would eventually be passed along to the employee either through direct negotiation or the irresistible workings of the "invisible hand. "The problem is, again, that in a world of unemployment bargaining power is circumscribed. In such a case it is reasonable to argue that the presence of wage subsidies will undermine the bargaining power of those low-wage employees who are already in the labor market, thereby reducing the remuneration of the entire class of low wage employees-including those that are paid at a rate just above the qualifying rate of wages. Such a result would ensure firms a disproportionate share of the subsidy, a fact that may explain their enthusiasm for this proposal over minimum wage legislation. Now it must be noted that Phelps is careful to argue that his proposed wage subsidy should go to all employers and cover all employees after some minimum level of employer contribution, so this effect will not be as strong in his proposal, but it is still an effect to be considered (notice this is less of a problem with the earned-income tax credit, EITC, since it is a tax expenditure that is presented directly to the employee).

Turn – The cp doesn’t account for elasticities – the net effect of subsidies is to make firms richer and destroy wage structures. **Prasch 2**[[47]](#footnote-47)

Third, even taken on its own terms, the success or failure of the program of wage subsidies, as measured by the cost of the program and amount of income generated, depends on the elasticities of the respective schedules for the supply and demand of labor. To examine the importance of these elasticities, Michael Barth simulated the effects of wage subsidies over a wide range of scenarios. In the event that a policy of wage subsidies were to be applied under conditions that most economists would find characteristic of low wage labor markets, such as a relatively inelastic demand for labor (-0.2) and a fairly elastic supply of labor (+0.5), Barth's simulations indicated that the policy would significantly reduce the market wage (by 20 percent)while dramatically increasing the cost of the program (Barth 1974, 581). Moreover, he concluded that firms would do rather well under a wage subsidy program, "when demand is relatively inelastic, the firm is capturing a fraction of the subsidy. This fraction will be larger, the higher is the supply elasticity. This condition is considerably more than a theoretical curiosity, since recent analyses of low-income labor markets suggest a low demand elasticity and other studies have suggested high supply elasticities for females and youths" (Barth 1974, 584). In short, very defensible estimates of labor market elasticities indicate that the program is likely to be expensive and inefficient in increasing the incomes of the working poor and could seriously undermine the wage structure at the lower end of the labor market including the wages of workers whose earnings are just above the eligible level.

Turn – Empirics prove that subsidies reduce employment. Your studies don’t account for macroeconomic effects. **Prasch 3**[[48]](#footnote-48)

Fifth, the policy presumes that employers' decisions to expand employment are primarily a "supply side" concern about the cost of compensating employees rather than a function of actual, or anticipated, demand for their products. The original point of John Maynard Keynes' work was to demonstrate that unemployment could exist and persist in a free market economy with fully flexible wages and prices (Keynes 1936, ch. 2-3, ch. 18-20; Davidson 1994, ch. 11; Chick 1983, ch. 7-8). Specifically, Keynes argued that under a plausible set of circumstances, a general reduction in the level of wages could set in motion a series of events that could result in a diminution of aggregate demand and thereby the level of employment.4 In this sense, a wage subsidy, if it results in a decline in the general wage level, could, through the income-multiplier, exacerbate the low-employment situation that existed before the policy was enacted. The reason is as follows: if a policy of wage subsidies further reduces the bargaining power of labor, it could result in a further diminishment of the purchasing power of the aggregate of consumers, which could feed back on producers' expectations, which would, in turn, further reduce the level of output and investment, and therefore employment, despite the availability of a wage subsidy. According to the German emigre economist, Gerhard Colm, something akin to the above set of events undermined [during] the only large-scale experiment with a policy of wage subsidies, the "Papen Plan" in Germany that lasted from September 1932 to April 1933. Colm reported that while this policy was in place the number of unemployed, which the government predicted would be reduced by 35 percent to 40 percent, actually increased by 15 percent (Colm 1934).5

AT – Collective Bargaining

Turn - Living wage campaigns give unions a social objective, increased power, and membership, means the aff increases collective bargaining. **Keddy**[[49]](#footnote-49)

Living wage campaigns typically consist of a combination of three types of groups. Labour organizations, community organizations and religious groups are the predominant groups that advocate for and participate in living wage campaigns. Community organizations and religious groups often perform similar roles in campaigns and work in conjunction with one another throughout the planning and organizing of the campaign. Successful campaigns have typically resulted from the involvement of all three of these groups (Levi et al., 2002; Nissen, 2000; Zabin & Martin, 1999). While it is usually community organizations or religious groups that initiate the discussion of a living wage, labour organizations often support and join a campaign at the early stages. Campaign organizers focus on getting support from labour unions or local labour councils, who represent multiple unions, during the early part of the organizing process. They bring with them considerable political clout and are often influential to the decisions made by city councils (Bernstein, 2005). They also bring financial support that can be substantially more than what community and religious groups can offer. Depending on the size of their membership, they can also bring a formidable number of their members out to rallies or council meetings to advocate for living wages. However, unions do have limited resources and must consider trade offs between advocating for their members and organizing in a living wage campaign (Levi et al., 2002). This is why it is essential for other organizations to be involved that can dedicate more of their time and energy actively campaigning. Labour unions have largely been supportive of living wage campaigns for a number of reasons. City contracts that require employers to pay living wages make it less competitive for unionized companies to bid on them because they typically already pay higher wages than nonunion companies. This levels the playing field when comparing labour costs to other non-union companies bidding on the same contract (Bernstein, 2005). In many cases, living wages will raise the wages of unionized workers that are already contracted by the city. The campaigns also offer avenues of communication with low wage workers in their industry that can lead to potential organizing opportunities thus increasing the unions membership (Bernstein, 2005; Zabin & Martin, 1999). These reasons for union support for living wages are often criticized by opponents as being more about self-interest than about raising wages for people who are in need (Bernstein, 2005). While there may be some truth to this, unions have had a long history of advocating for higher wages not only for their members, but for non-union workers as well

Poverty Weighing

Poverty Outweighs

1. Poverty causes societal collapse. Rosinsky[[50]](#footnote-50)

Economic collapse kills people. Poverty destroys societies; and social collapse, at its end stages, involves sudden downward changes in people’s health, due to factors such as loss of jobs, loss of health insurance, homelessness, breakup of families, resort to substance abuse, psychological collapse, and descent into crime and incarceration. These various downward changes strongly interact. Loss of job can directly cause loss of health insurance, as well as homelessness due to inability to pay rent or mortgage. Homelessness can contribute to family breakup, and with this loss of family support, can come psychological collapse. Psychological collapse and family breakup can lead to substance abuse. Substance abuse can in turn lead to job loss, worsen psychological collapse, and induce a resort to crime to pay for the drugs, which in turn can lead to more psychological collapse and more disruption to the family. These strong interactions set up a spiralling downward process, ultimately leading to the total collapse of individuals, families, and larger social groups and layers of society. These factors also result in poor nutrition, exposure to infectious disease, violence, and lack of medical care for treatable illnesses, all culminating in high death rates.

Means that poverty outweighs a) scope – it leads to the largest amount of impacts across a society as a whole b) probability – it has multiple negative outcomes, making it more likely each scenario is triggered with increases in poverty

Poverty Turns NC’s

1. Escaping poverty is a pre-requisite to moral agency. People can’t set their ends if the only concern is the next meal. Also outweighs your impacts because you assume that people are moral actors in the first place, which poverty denies. Additionally controls the internal link into moral theorizing – the only way we can determine if the NC contention is accurate is if we can engage in ethics debate in the first place, which escaping poverty is a pre-requisite.
2. Even if there is an intention foresight distinction, it doesn’t matter because you concede that poverty 100% decreases in the aff world. This means that its inherent to the neg to make people poor, turning your intent arguments.
3. High rates of poverty correlate with overextension of government programs and welfare spending, which means that reducing poverty is key to prevent the largest scope of violations to freedom.
4. Poverty causes societal collapse. **Rosinsky 06**[[51]](#footnote-51)

Economic collapse kills people. Poverty destroys societies; and social collapse, at its end stages, involves sudden downward changes in people’s health, due to factors such as loss of jobs, loss of health insurance, homelessness, breakup of families, resort to substance abuse, psychological collapse, and descent into crime and incarceration. These various downward changes strongly interact. Loss of job can directly cause loss of health insurance, as well as homelessness due to inability to pay rent or mortgage. Homelessness can contribute to family breakup, and with this loss of family support, can come psychological collapse. Psychological collapse and family breakup can lead to substance abuse. Substance abuse can in turn lead to job loss, worsen psychological collapse, and induce a resort to crime to pay for the drugs, which in turn can lead to more psychological collapse and more disruption to the family. These strong interactions set up a spiralling downward process, ultimately leading to the total collapse of individuals, families, and larger social groups and layers of society. These factors also result in poor nutrition, exposure to infectious disease, violence, and lack of medical care for treatable illnesses, all culminating in high death rates.

And this coopts the top level of the NC link chain – the only way for the state to exist and be a moral actor is to prevent poverty, thus preventing poverty comes as a pre-requisite to moral action.

Turnover Weighing

1. Severity – business profits are four times smaller with high turnover, which outweighs any marginal cost increases due to a living wage.
2. Controls the internal link to poverty because
3. High profits encourages innovation, lowering prices and allowing people to escape poverty
4. Profitable companies are incentivized to expand and employ more people, which means the aff is key to solve long term poverty.
5. Low turnover ensures that workers get more skill and training while on the job, increasing their upward mobility if they choose to look for better work.
6. Strength of link – no link turns and minor mitigation at best on the contention means that it has the highest strength of link on the util debate.
7. Probability – the literature is in consensus that turnover is reduced and the link chain for turnover is smaller than (DA which relies on many steps)

AT - Lammam

1. Huge Bias – He works for the Fraser institute and his 2014 literature review doesn’t mention the positive aff studies released before then. Always prefer my studies because they are peer reviewed ensuring accuracy on the living wage, also given Lammam’s bias he has an incentive to misrepresent empirics mentioned in the article.
2. He also cites multiple studies ie. Brenner and Reich that don’t reduce employment – their literature consensus claim is vastly exaggerated.

AT Neumark and Adams ‘04

1. Prefer Lester and Jacob on the question of employment effects
   1. Lester and Jacob post dates it by 6 years, which means it has reviewed Neumark and Adams as well as 6 more years of information and evidence
   2. Neumark and Adams sampled the wrong cities, prefer Lester, Lester and Jacobs 10**[[52]](#footnote-52)**

A key difference between our study and that of Adams and Neumark is our sample choice.32 We conduct a systematic qualitative assessment of the set of U.S. cities that have passed business assistance living wage laws to narrow down the treatment group to exclude where the living wage has not been enforced or thresholds are too high to have an effect.

*Cross apply the weighing in the AC (probably was conceded) why enforcement outweighs*

1. You are wrong about the card, read the footnotes **Neumark and Adams[[53]](#footnote-53) 04**:

We note that, for the most part, wage and employment effects above the tenth centile of the wage or predicted wage distribution are weaker, although we sometimes find hints of evidence of positive wage or employment effects between the tenth and 50th centiles, consistent with substitution toward higher-skilled labor.

Holzer[[54]](#footnote-54)

Other criticisms of the Adams and Neumark work can be found in Brenner et al. (2002).15 Specifically, they claim that: 1) Limiting their samples to workers in the bottom decile (or even the 10th-50th percentiles) generate sample selection biases, especially since the dependent variable in the wage regressions are being used to define the samples; 2) Subminimum-wage workers are very unlikely to be covered by “living wage” ordinances and therefore should not be in the sample; 3) Business assistance laws are often enforced very weakly, and cannot really generate the kinds of stronger effects estimated by Adams and Neumark; and 4) Coverage of cities in their sample is heavily tilted towards Los Angeles along with some other very large cities. Indeed, they argue that the Adams- Neumark results are quite sensitive to these specification issues.

AT Unemployment Neumark and Thompson

Even if there is an unemployment effect – the net impact is a decrease on poverty. Neumark[[55]](#footnote-55) and Thompson

The goal of this paper was to provide updated evidence on the effects of living wage laws in U.S. cities, relative to the earlier research on the first six or seven years of existence of these laws. The early round of research on living wages extended from 1995-2002, whereas the data we use in this paper potentially double the length of the sample period, to 2009, and nearly double the number of cities with living wages. As it turns out, however, there are some challenges to updating this evidence, as the CPS data on which it relies changed geographic coding systems in the mid-2000s, necessitating some “rolling up” of urban areas into larger areas to maintain consistency across the sample period – aggregation that in some cases appears to influence the estimates. The aggregation problems work against the goal of updating the evidence, making it more difficult to draw inferences beyond 2004 for the wage and employment analysis and 2003 for the family income analysis, although we also report the estimates extending as far as we can. The focus is on the effects of living wages on low-wage or low-skill workers, and on low-income families. Turning first to wages, the updated evidence continues to point to living wages increasing wages at the bottom of the wage distribution – for the purposes of this paper, in the bottom decile of the wage distribution. The point estimates to some extent indicate that the wage effects are stronger for business assistance than for contractor-only living wage laws. However, in the updated evidence the estimated wage effects, while uniformly positive, are not statistically significant. The preferred estimates taking account of both the updating and aggregation problem is that the elasticity of wages in the bottom decile with respect to business assistance living wages is 0.051, versus a slightly smaller 0.037 for contractor-only living wages. With regard to employment, the estimates are – as theory would predict – uniformly negative. The preferred estimates are statistically significant, indicating that, for example, a 50% increase in a business assistance living wage reduces employment in the bottom decile of the skill distribution by 2.8 percentage points; the corresponding estimate for contractor-only living wages is 2.4 percentage points. Looking at what is perhaps a good criterion with which to judge the efficacy of living wages, the updated evidence through 2009 continues to find – as did the earlier research – that living wage laws can reduce urban poverty. The new evidence finds this effect only for business assistance living wage laws. Moreover, there is some ambiguity as to how strong this evidence is statistically. The estimated effect is statistically significant for the full extended sample period, indicating that a 50% increase in a business assistance living wage reduces poverty by 1.2 percentage points. But given concerns over the aggregation of urban areas, if we extend the estimates only to the time when the aggregation becomes necessary (2003 in this case), the estimate, while a shade larger, is no longer statistically significant. All told, in our view this updated evidence is broadly consistent with the conclusions that Holzer’s (2008) review of the earlier evidence reached – that living wages have modest benefits for some workers and modest costs for others, and may also result in modest reductions in poverty. And we would add that the latter conclusion is true only of business assistance living wage laws, and not of narrower contractor-only laws. Updating the evidence has led to some changes in the point estimates, and perhaps also introduced a bit more uncertainty because depending on which data one uses and for what period, the estimates sometimes change. But this overall conclusion is still quite consistent with the data. Living 28 wages do reduce employment among the least-skilled workers they are intended to help. But they also increase wages for many of them. This implies that living wage laws generate both winners and losers among those affected by them, and the net effects lean toward modest reductions in urban poverty.

Extra unemployment effect cards

20 years of data indicate no employment effects from living wage, but if anything employment increases Lester and Jacobs 10:

The study examines how living wage standards affect 14 distinct employment variables: total citywide; broad low-wage services; narrow low-wage services; retail; restaurants; hotels; manufacturing; nondurable manufacturing; back-office; wholesale; big-box retail; finance insurance and real estate; headquarters; and branch plants. Together these provide a comprehensive examination of the potential combined direct, direct spillover, and indirect effects that business assistance living wage laws can have on local employment. Figure 1 presents these 14 variables as the possible range of employment change expected after passage, allowing up to two years for lagged effects. None of the 14 outcome variables show a statistically significant negative consequence of passing a business assistance living wage standard. Statistically significant outcomes would mean that we are 90 percent confident that the estimate is different from zero. But this is not the case for any of the variables, which means we can conclude that there is no employment effect. (More detailed results are presented in the technical appendix.)41 Our estimates indicate that passage of a business assistance living wage law has no measurable effect on citywide employment. Employment levels are unaffected in low-wage industries as is employment in industries likely to be targets of economic development subsidies and in firms that are sensitive to the perceived business climate of a city. This suggests that business assistance living wage laws are unlikely to have direct, direct spillover, or indirect effects on employment levels. These findings discredit the primary arguments used by opponents of business assistance living wage laws that these laws are harmful to employment in direct and indirect ways. It is important to note that the results are based on nearly 20 years of data—a timeframe that contained years of recessions and expansions—which suggests that business assistance living wage laws are unlikely to have an effect on employment levels even during hard economic times. These results are also quite robust. For example, the inclusion or exclusion of any particular city from the treatment group has no meaningful effect on the results. Figure 1 visually represents the 90 percent confidence interval of our point estimates. Any number line in Figure 1 that includes zero in the shaded area indicates that the estimated effect is not different than zero. This means that there is no estimated employment effect, which is the case for all the variables tested. The estimated impact of employment in low-wage industries—the sectors where we can expect the living wage to have the largest bite—bears some additional discussion. Our estimates for the five low-wage sectors we measure are all nearly zero, or slightly positive. These results strongly contrast with the findings of Adams and Neumark, who find significant negative employment effects for low-wage workers overall. For retail and restaurants our estimates are precise enough to reject the point estimates of their study.42

#### Prefer this—it’s most recent and uses the best methodology --- multiple warrants Lester and Jacobs[[56]](#footnote-56) 10

The study is the most methodologically sound, quantitative study conducted to date on business assistance wage standards. It uses the best available data that tracks employment by establishment and establishment movements over time in order to make accurate accounts of employment change at the city level. The study carefully selects cities that have effectively implemented business assistance living wage laws and ensures a controlled comparison that minimizes the effects of unobservable variables by comparing 15 living wage cities to 16 cities with similar attributes where advocates lodged unsuccessful campaigns to pass such ordinances.

Impacts a) my data is more recent and takes into account more factors, which means I’m more likely to correspond correctly to reality b) my studies uniquely look at the cities who have done living wage laws well—there’s no reason why we’d base our laws going forward on bad models c) only I control for unobservable variable so my studies are more likely true

#### Prefer this over Adam and Neumark --- their study for employment effects sample the wrong cities

Lester and Jacobs 10**[[57]](#footnote-57)**

A key difference between our study and that of Adams and Neumark is our sample choice.32 We conduct a systematic qualitative assessment of the set of U.S. cities that have passed business assistance living wage laws to narrow down the treatment group to exclude where the living wage has not been enforced or thresholds are too high to have an effect.

AT Neg studies – false economic theory. Keddy[[58]](#footnote-58)

Opponents also argue that while living wage policies do increase the wages of some, it actually reduces employment opportunities for workers in the lowest skilled and lowest income group. There are a few main arguments used to support this assertion. First, basic economic theory states that as wages rise, demand is reduced resulting in fewer available jobs in general. However, this economic theory is based on a model where all other factors remain equal. This rarely occurs in reality. Economic growth consistently changes the dynamic of supply and demand. As the economy expands, demand increases which can often offset the increased labour costs associated with living wages (Pollin, 2008). Living wages themselves will change the dynamic as well by providing greater spending power to more people thus increasing demand (Pollin, 2008).

Turn – living wages cause growth that increases employment**. Lester**[[59]](#footnote-59)

A critical aspect in the public debate over business assistance living wage laws is the degree to which they will actually impact the local economy. On the one hand, many living wage proponents argue that business assistance clauses will not cause significant job losses. This argument is supported by research that indicates that higher minimum and living wages lead to efficiency gains for firms through reduced turnover (see Dube, Lester, Reich 2010a). In addition, increasing wages for the lowest paid workers also has a simulative effect for local economies, as low-income households typically spend more of their dollars locally. In addition to the potential positive, or offsetting, impacts of living wage laws, some researchers suggest that given their narrow scope business assistance living wage laws typically impact only a small number of firms that receive direct subsidies, and only a fraction of these firms employ workers below the mandated wage. In this view, business assistance laws function as a lower bound that serves to prevent localities from subsidizing low wage jobs, but they don’t themselves represent a drastic reshaping of existing local labor practices.

Unsorted useful cards

Living wage laws affect 2-3% of workers in a city – **Holzer 08**[[60]](#footnote-60)

**One** other **characteristic** **seems to apply** almost **universally** in these efforts: *local* ***living wage ordinances*** *generally seem to directly* ***affect******very few workers***. Most studies imply that, even among workers in the bottom decile of wage levels, **only 2-3%** are covered by these laws (e.g., Fairris and Reich, 2005), as so few work for firms that benefit from local service contracts or other forms of public financial assistance; and, even in larger cities, the absolute numbers of workers covered will be very modest. For example, consider a city with a total population of 1 million, half of whom are in the workforce.5 Of the 50,000 workers in the bottom decile of earnings, if 3% are directly covered by living wage ordinances, then only 1500 workers are so affected. In smaller cities, proportionately fewer workers will be affected.

Living wage laws affect 2-3% of workers in a city – even in big cities that’s only 1500 workers – **Holzer 08**[[61]](#footnote-61)

**One** other **characteristic** **seems to apply** almost **universally** in these efforts: *local* ***living wage ordinances*** *generally seem to directly* ***affect******very few workers***. Most studies imply that, even among workers in the bottom decile of wage levels, **only 2-3%** are covered by these laws (e.g., Fairris and Reich, 2005), as so few work for firms that benefit from local service contracts or other forms of public financial assistance; and, **even in larger cities, the absolute numbers of workers covered will be very modest**. **For example, consider a city with** a total **population** of **1 million**, **half of whom are in the workforce**.5 **Of the 50,000 workers in the bottom decile of earnings, if 3% are directly covered by living wage ordinances, then only 1500 workers are so affected**. In smaller cities, proportionately fewer workers will be affected

Living wage effects depends on understanding elasticity of labor demand – which is only determinable statistically. **Holzer 08**[[62]](#footnote-62):

But, since this floor will generally cover only a small number of firms in the labor market, any surplus of workers in the covered sector might well shift to the uncovered sectors of the economy – perhaps gaining employment there by driving down wages in the latter.6 **This implies that the wage gains of some workers might be offset by wage losses among others, though initial employment losses might be offset as well –** making it harder to detect impacts on labor market outcomes either way. But, if market rigidities (such as minimum wage laws) make it difficult for the uncovered sectors to absorb the surplus workers, the positive effects on wages and negative effects on employment levels for the covered workers are more likely to be observed in the market overall. **The magnitude of these effects** (for any given level of mandated wages and coverage) **will** also **be determined primarily by the “elasticity of labor demand**” in the covered sector, **which measures the degree to which employer** demand for (or **hiring** **of**) **workers responds to market wages**. The more elastic (or flatter) this curve, the greater the responsiveness of employers to wages and the greater the potential negative effect of higher mandated wages on employment levels.

Neumark & Adams changed their mind. **Holzer 08**[[63]](#footnote-63):

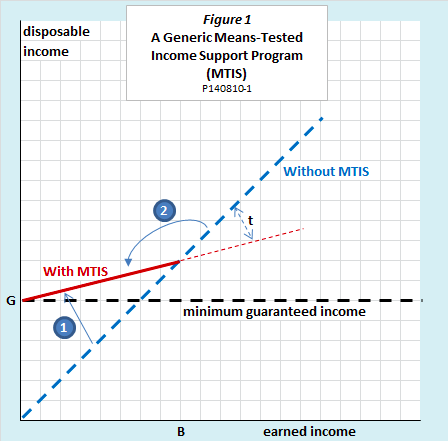
**The cross-city work of Adams and Neumark has generated the** additional **finding that** the implementation of **living wage laws might be associated with** modest **reductions in poverty**. **This stands in sharp contrast to earlier work by Neumark on the effects of minimum wage increases.** But Adams and Neumark also suggest that the poverty reductions are likely driven by improved wage and employment outcomes among workers whose wages are below the median but above the bottom decile. In contrast, their work suggests that employment declines most for those in the bottom group.

Even if small, living wage legislation is the best option available, and paves way for future discussion – **Holzer 08**[[64]](#footnote-64):

This does not mean, in my view, that “living wage” laws shouldn’t be passed. **Generating** some very **modest net benefits for workers with below-average wages**, especially in poor households, **is** arguably **better than generating none at all. In a world where few** other **tools** **might realistically be available to directly raise the wages of low earners**, perhaps **we should think of “living wage” ordinances as one of the few** **policy** **tools available in a very imperfect and constrained situation** for the advocates of low- wage workers. And, if other goals motivated these campaigns in some cases – such as limiting the outsourcing of municipal work and the use of public money to subsidize large companies through “economic development” - perhaps some of these goals have been accomplished as well. **Furthermore**, **if placed within the context of broader campaigns to improve the wages and benefits of less-skilled workers in the private sector, the “living wage”** battles **might play some useful symbolic role and raise awareness of pay disparity issues**. Expanding collective bargaining, for example, would likely have far greater impacts, and perhaps “living wage” campaigns can be part of broader efforts to do so. But “living wage” campaigns must then be viewed as complements, not substitutes, for these other efforts.

Appendix

Dolan MTIS graph -



To be Improved

1. AT unions DA could have more – analytics (poverty outweighs, alt solvency) & ev
2. AT Crime – analytics, poverty outweighs/controls IL
3. UBI
   1. Perms
      1. Ev on incentive to work (income & subs affect)
      2. Cut abusive McMorris perm?
      3. Revise momentum perm… unclear what the permutation actually is. Do you implement UBI?
   2. Turns
      1. Shorten & strengthen incentive to work DA.
      2. Shorten & strengthen funding DA
      3. Shorten & strengthen immigration DA
      4. Compile 3 DA & perm file.
4. EITC
   1. Perms
      1. Federal budget constraint DA
5. Wage Subsidies
6. Poverty weighing
   1. Expand poverty outweighs. Include extensions of the AC
   2. Strengthen poverty turns the NC
7. AT Lammam
   1. More indicts. Some carded ones
   2. Combination of prefer my ev & indicts

1. Living wage laws affect 2-3% of workers in a city – **Holzer 08**

   **One** other **characteristic** **seems to apply** almost **universally** in these efforts: *local* ***living wage ordinances*** *generally seem to directly* ***affect******very few workers***. Most studies imply that, even among workers in the bottom decile of wage levels, **only 2-3%** are covered by these laws (e.g., Fairris and Reich, 2005), as so few work for firms that benefit from local service contracts or other forms of public financial assistance; and, even in larger cities, the absolute numbers of workers covered will be very modest. For example, consider a city with a total population of 1 million, half of whom are in the workforce.5 Of the 50,000 workers in the bottom decile of earnings, if 3% are directly covered by living wage ordinances, then only 1500 workers are so affected. In smaller cities, proportionately fewer workers will be affected. [citation later in document] [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
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